

AFRICAN RESPONSES

TO SOME TYPES OF ADVERTISEMENTS

by

G. PAPP

Centre for Applied Social Sciences
University of Natal
King George V Avenue
Durban 4001
South Africa

CASS/28-PAP

AFRICAN RESPONSES

TO SOME TYPES OF ADVERTISEMENTS

by

C. PAPP

Centre for Applied Social Sciences
University of Natal
King George V Avenue
Durban 4001
South Africa

CASS/28-PAP

PREFACE

The present investigation is an effort mainly to determine to what extent the African public favours advertisements presented in a 'European' or an 'African' fashion. In the test-material, this 'African-European bias' was presented in the form of a number of 'themes', which recurred in each of the three commodity series used in the investigation.

The testing procedure used, made it possible, not only to assess the relative weight of a particular ('European' or 'African') bias with regard to each type of advertisement, but also to assess the relative order in which each of the themes were favoured by the various groups of people who were tested.

The study is of a strictly limited scope: its limitations being mainly due to lack of funds (and therefore, personnel), but partially also because we realized that we were moving into a largely uncharted field of research where a host of human factors (foreseen and unforeseen) are bound to operate without means of subjecting them to statistically adequate controls.

It is, perhaps, a good example of the irony of planned research work, that one of the most telling results was not planned, and actually derived from a concession which we were forced to make to our penury. Lack of funds had prevented us from having all three test series executed by the same professional artist, who had prepared the Baby Food series. As a result, in the two other series (the very creditable effort of a University art student) the contrasting complexions of European and African representations became quite unintentionally more striking, i.e. African skins were darker in these series than in the Baby Food set of drawings - and evoked significantly different responses!

I believe that, however modestly, Miss Papp's study has touched the very root of the problem of advertising for the African market. It is a mere exploratory exercise in a vast and still nebulous field of study,

- ii -

where a university, by concentrating on fundamental issues, could render important service to Commerce and Industry. That three firms were found willing to invest some money in this little pilot venture, is a cause for gratitude. By far the heavier financial burden was, however, carried by the University itself. Its own funds being strictly limited, it is obvious that such research (as all other research) needs much wider and more liberal support in order to become really effective. The occupants of the Ivory Tower of Science do not need much of this kind of encouragement to seek ways of becoming helpful to the world of business.

J.F. HOLLEMAN
DIRECTOR

AFRICAN RESPONSES TO SOME TYPES OF ADVERTISEMENTS*

by

C. PAPP

INTRODUCTION

The African market plays a major role in the economic structure of South Africa; yet there is a paucity of literature on advertising research amongst African people. The little there is, seems at present confined mainly to private business enterprises whose research findings have not been widely publicised. In European communities where research on advertising is extensive, it is known that different social groups find different themes in advertising more appealing than others. This may also be the case with different groups amongst African people. In South Africa advertising campaigns are difficult to plan because of lack of research on advertising appeals amongst the different ethnic groups; what appeals to the European may not necessarily appeal to the African, and vice versa.

The majority of South African printed advertisements depict European rather than African figures. This is inevitable since the bulk of literature which includes advertisements is directed towards the European population. The press, for example, is not representative of the non-European population, despite the fact that many of the readers of the daily papers in all the main centres are non-European. There are, however, a few monthly magazines - Drum, Zonk, Bona, Our Africa - which

* This report is abstracted from an M.A. thesis to be submitted to the University of Natal. The study is sponsored by the University's Institute for Social Research, which awarded me a Carnegie scholarship for two years. University Research Fund, Messrs. Hinds Bros., United Tobacco Companies (South) Ltd. and P.N. Barrett's Advertising Agency have given financial support which is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

circulate largely amongst the African population and which include advertisements with illustrations of African people. Apart from these magazines and sundry other advertising media, such as posters, there seems comparatively little advertising devised specifically for the African market.

The present investigation is an attempt to determine the preferences of Africans for advertisements whose themes are either European-oriented or African-oriented. For this purpose the environment, sex, age and educational level of the respondents were taken into consideration.

SCOPE AND METHOD

1. Sample:

A total sample of 1200 Zulu-speaking Africans ranging between the ages 16-86 years was drawn from certain urban and rural areas in Natal. There was an equal number each of urban and rural male and female subjects. For a record of their marital status, age, educational and occupational distribution, see Appendix A, Tables 1 - 15.

2. Areas from which sample was drawn (see map on next page):

a) Urban

The areas from which the urban groups were drawn were:

- i) Pietermaritzburg (city),
- ii) Sobantu Village (lying on the outskirts of the city),
- iii) Edendale (approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the city, but which for the purpose of the study was regarded an urban area).

b) Rural

The areas from which the rural groups were drawn were:

- i) Polela Health Centre (approximately 45 miles from Pietermaritzburg and 10 miles from Bulwer),
- ii) Drummond Reserve (approximately halfway between Durban and Pietermaritzburg).



MAP SHOWING AREAS IN NATAL FROM WHICH SAMPLE WAS DRAWN

For a record of the number of Africans tested in each of the urban and rural areas, see Appendix A, Tables 16 - 21.

3. Testers:

Respondents were tested by two male African assistants. I myself occasionally accompanied one of the testers. (For the distribution of the testing task, see Appendix A, Tables 22 - 24).

4. Test material: the advertisements:

There were three series of advertisements each series representing a different commodity:

- i) a well-known brand of baby food
- ii) a well-known brand of cigarette
- iii) a gramophone (of no particular brand).

In each series the particular commodity was placed, in a similar manner, against a varying background which represented, in turn, five 'themes'. The themes were:-

- i) 'Baby'
- ii) 'Family'
- iii) 'Doctor/Teacher' (Expert guidance)
- iv) 'Scenery'
- v) 'Abstract design'.

Each theme had a closely-matched "European" "African" presentation. In the Baby Food series an abstract design advertisement, predominantly light in colour, was for practical purposes regarded as "European", and the advertisement with the same design, but predominantly dark in colour, as "African". In the Cigarette and Gramophone series an abstract design based on straight lines and angles was regarded as "European", and one based on circles as "African". This distinction was inspired by an article by Allport and Pettigrew¹⁾, which refers to Doob's

1) Cultural Influence on the Perception of Movement. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 55, No. 1, 1957.

finding that the less "acculturated" African, as compared with the "Westernised" African, showed a statistically significant preference for circles rather than squares when asked to choose between designs drawn in these shapes.

Each series, therefore, consisted of ten advertisements. All advertisements were the same size, and all the original drawings were photographed in black and white (to exclude the influence of colour prejudice). In each advertisement of a series the picture of the product was presented in the same position and was of the same size. There was no text apart from the name of the product on the advertisement itself. All the advertisements were specially designed for the purpose of this investigation.

(See pages 6 - 11 for photographs of the advertisements).

5. Testing procedure:

Every interviewee ('respondent') was tested on only one of the three series. As the total sample was 1200 individual Africans, the number tested on each series was 400, of which there were 100 urban males, 100 urban females, 100 rural males and 100 rural females.

The ten advertisements comprising each single series were presented in pairs, so that each advertisement was shown once with every other advertisement in the same series. These paired comparisons were presented in a predetermined order, so that there was a more or less even interval between the recurrences of any one advertisement. The subject was required to indicate in each of the paired comparisons which of the two advertisements he preferred. He was free to base his preference upon any subjectively-held criterion. There was no time-limit.

This method gave a preference-rating with regard to 'European' or 'African' presentation, as also of each advertisement in relation to the others of the same series. The results are therefore divided into two sections: part I will deal with the bias in favour of 'African' or

PHOTOGRAPHS OF ADVERTISEMENTS USED IN STUDY OF AFRICAN
PREFERENCES IN ADVERTISEMENTS

BABY FOOD SERIES



EUROPEAN BABY



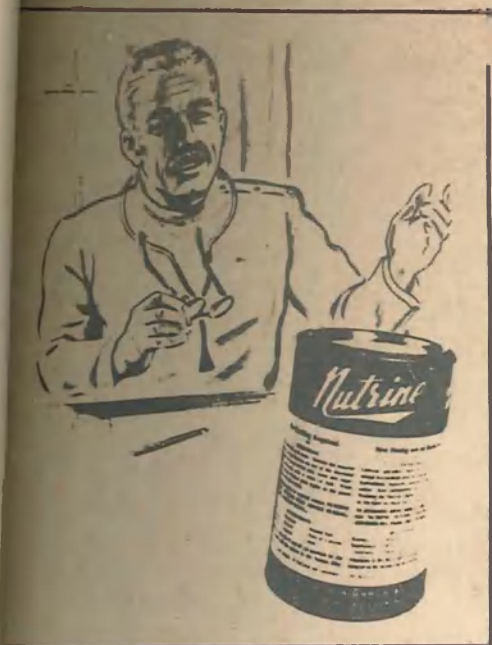
AFRICAN BABY



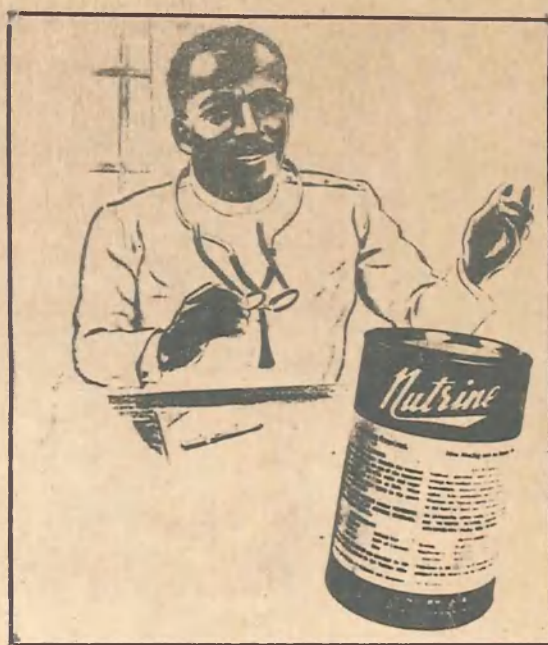
EUROPEAN FAMILY



AFRICAN FAMILY



EUROPEAN DOCTOR



AFRICAN DOCTOR



URBAN SCENE



RURAL SCENE



LIGHT ABSTRACT



DARK ABSTRACT

CIGARETTE SERIES



EUROPEAN BABY



AFRICAN BABY



EUROPEAN FAMILY



AFRICAN FAMILY



EUROPEAN DOCTOR



AFRICAN DOCTOR



URBAN SCENE



RURAL SCENE



LIGHT ABSTRACT



DARK ABSTRACT

GRAMOPHONE SERIES



EUROPEAN BABY



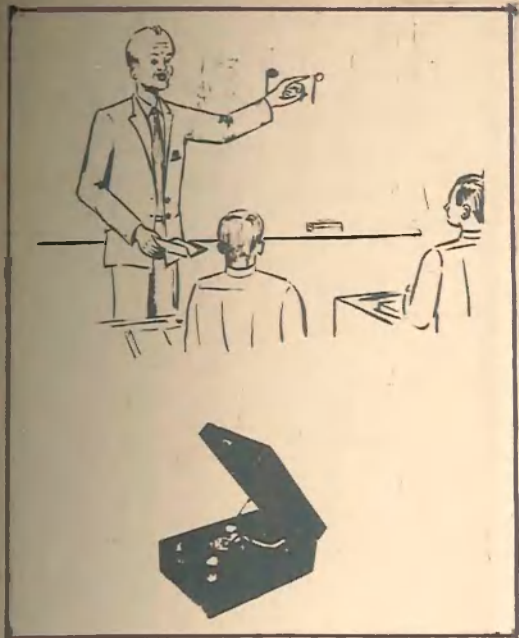
AFRICAN BABY



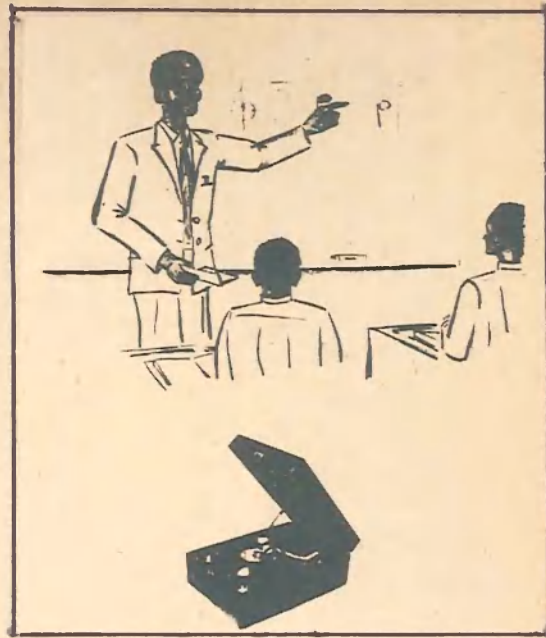
EUROPEAN FAMILY



AFRICAN FAMILY



EUROPEAN TEACHER



AFRICAN TEACHER



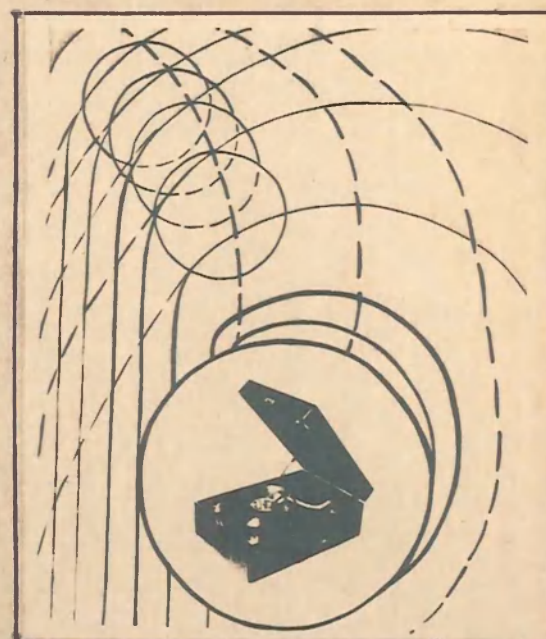
URBAN SCENE



RURAL SCENE



ANGULAR DESIGN



CIRCULAR DESIGN

'European' representation of the advertisements. Part II will deal with the relative preferences concerning the themes (i.e. baby, doctor, abstract design, etc.).

RESULTS

Part I : African or European Bias

In the following analysis the term "European-African bias" refers to the preference expressed in the paired comparisons between the "European" advertisements and their "African" counterparts. The number of individually expressed preferences 'European' or 'African', was totalled, and the findings calculated separately for each of the two urban and rural groups. Each series was, moreover, treated individually.

The chi-squared test was used to determine the following:-

- (1) The statistical significance of the preferences of each of the four main groups;
- (2) The statistical significance of the differences in bias between the four main groups, i.e. according to environment and sex;
- (3) The statistical significance of the differences in bias according to age group and educational level in each of the main groups.

In making comparisons we usually apply the 'chi-squared test'. If this test is (say) 'significant at the x% level', it means that our statement has a chance of x in 100 of being wrong. A 5% level of significance means that in the long run there may be one false statement in twenty. A comparatively lower significance level therefore means a comparatively higher degree of confidence in the statement made, and vice versa. Following usual practice the various significance levels are indicated by asterisks in the tables: one asterisk meaning significance at 5% level; two asterisks, significance at 2% level; three asterisks, significance at 1% level or less. Where no asterisk appears, the findings were found to be at over 5% level, and hence statistically not very significant.

(1) European-African bias: Significant Preferences:

The following findings relate to the African preferences which are considered statistically significant.

a) Baby Food series (see Appendix B, Tables 1a - 5a).

Of the advertisements illustrating persons, i.e. the baby, family and doctor advertisements, the urban females consistently showed no significant preference for either the European or the African presentations. The urban males, however, showed a significant preference for the African baby advertisement and also for the European doctor advertisement. The rural groups showed a consistently significant preference for all the European presentations. (see Appendix C, Figs. 1a - 3a).

No significant preference for either of the two scenery advertisements was expressed by any group, rural or urban. (see Appendix C, Fig. 4a).

The males of both urban and rural group, however, showed a significant preference for the dark abstract design advertisement; a similar preference expressed by the females of both environments, approached the 5% level. (see Appendix C, Table 5a).

b) Cigarette series (see Appendix B, Tables 1b - 5b).

For the advertisements illustrating persons. (again the baby, family and doctor advertisements), all groups showed significant preferences for the European rather than the African presentations. The preferences amongst both the urban and the rural groups were particularly strong, being significant in each case at the 1% level. As regards the rural groups the preferences were particularly strong for the advertisements depicting some form of family-life, i.e. the baby and family advertisements, being significant in each case at less than the 1% level; for the doctor advertisement the preference in each case was at the 5% level (see Figs. 1b - 3b).

Regarding the scenery advertisements, none of the groups showed a significant preference for either the urban or the rural scene. (see Appendix C, Fig. 4b).

In the case of the abstract design the urban and rural groups differed for the first time. Both the urban groups showed a significant preference for the circular design advertisement (less than the 1% level in each case), while the rural males showed no significant preference for either of the two design advertisements and the rural females showed a significant preference for the angular design advertisement (2% level). (see Appendix C, Fig. 5b).

c) Gramophone series (see Appendix B, Tables 1c - 5c).

As regards the advertisements illustrating persons, all groups showed significant preferences for the European rather than the African presentations. In each case preference was significant at less than the 1% level. (see Appendix C, Figs. 1c - 5c).

Both the female groups showed a significant preference for the urban scene advertisement; the two male groups showed no significant preference for either of the scenery advertisements. (see Appendix C, Fig. 4c).

With regard to the abstract design all groups, except the rural females, showed a significant preference for the circular design. For both urban groups this preference was very evident, being significant at the 1% level; but for the rural males only at the 5% level). No significant preference for either the angular or circular design was expressed by the rural females. (see Appendix c, Fig. 5c).

(2) European-African bias: Environmental and Sex Differences:

In the following findings the African or European preferences are, in each series, related to the environment and sex of the groups.

Environmental differences

a) Baby Food series (see Appendix B, Tables 6a - 10a).

Baby Theme

The urban males showed a significant preference for the African baby advertisement, while the rural males showed a significant preference for the European baby advertisement; this difference between the urban and the rural males' preferences was significant at less than the 1% level. The urban females showed no significant preference for either the European or the African baby advertisement, while the rural females showed a significant preference for the European baby advertisement; this difference in preference between the urban and the rural females was significant at less than the 1% level. (see Appendix C, Fig. 1a).

Family Theme

The urban males showed no significant preference for either the European or the African family theme; but the rural males showed a significant preference for the European presentation; this difference between the urban and rural males was significant at the 5% level. (see Appendix C, Fig. 2a).

Other Themes

There were no significant differences in European-African preferences between the urban and rural groups in respect of any of the remaining themes of the Baby Food series. (see Appendix C, Figs. 3a - 5a).

b) Cigarette series (see Appendix B, Tables 6b - 10b).

Except for the abstract design advertisements, there were no significant differences between urban and rural Africans with regard to European-African bias of the Cigarette series.

The urban males showed a significant preference for the circular design advertisement, while the rural males showed no significant

preference for either of the design advertisements; this difference between the preferences of the urban and the rural males was significant at less than the 1% level. The urban females showed a significant preference for the circular design advertisement, while the rural females showed a significant preference for the angular design advertisement; this difference between the preferences of the urban and rural females was significant at less than the 1% level. (see Appendix C, Fig. 5b).

c) Gramophone series (see Appendix B, Tables 6c - 10c).

There was no significant difference in European-African bias between the urban and rural males with regard to any theme in the Gramophone series.

The female groups, however, revealed a significant difference: Among the urban females there was a significant preference for the circular design, while the rural group expressed no significant preference for either angular or circular design; the urban-rural difference (females) was significant at the 2% level. (see Appendix C, Fig. 5c).

Sex differences

a) Baby Food series (see Appendix B, Tables 11a - 15a).

In the Baby Food series, there were no significant differences regarding European or African bias between the sexes in the urban groups; nor was there such a difference in the rural groups. (see Appendix C, Figs. 1a - 5a).

b) Cigarette series (see Appendix B, Tables 11b - 15b).

The same observation holds for the responses to the Cigarette series. (see Appendix C, Figs. 1b - 5b).

c) Gramophone series (see Appendix B, Tables 11c - 15c).

There was only one significant difference in preference between the male and female Africans of similar environment. This occurred in the rural sample with regard to the abstract design. The rural male group showed a significant preference for the circular design, while the female group showed no significant preference for either circular or angular design; this difference between the male and female group was significant at the 2% level. (see Appendix C, Fig. 5c).

(3) European-African bias: Age and Educational Differences:

In the following results significant differences in European or African bias is related to different age groups and educational levels within each of the four groups of subjects.

Age differences

The subjects were divided into two age groups, under 35 years of age, and over. For a record of the number of Africans in each group, see Appendix A, Tables 4 - 6.

a) Baby Food series (see Appendix B, Tables 15a - 20a).

There were no significant differences in preferences between the under and over 35-year-olds, except amongst the rural females in their selection of the scenery advertisements. The under 35-year-old showed a marked preference for the urban scene advertisement (45:24), while the over 35-year-olds showed a more or less equal preference for both the urban and rural scene advertisement (13:18). This difference between the under and over 35-year-old rural females was significant at the 5% level.

b) Cigarette series (see Appendix B, Tables 15b - 20b).

There was a significant difference in preference between

the under and the over 35-year old rural males in their selection of the scenery advertisement. The under 35-year olds showed a strong preference for the urban scene (41:27), while the over 35-year-old rural males showed a strong preference for the rural scene (25:7). This difference in preference between the two rural male age groups was highly significant at less than the 1% level.

A significant difference in preference also occurred between the under and over 35-year-old rural females with regard to the abstract design. The younger group preferred the angular design (43:26), but the older group preferred the circular design (20:11). This difference between the two rural female age groups was significant at the 5% level.

c) Gramophone series (see Appendix B, Tables 16c - 20c).

In this series there was no significant differentiation between the various age groups with regard to European or African bias.

Educational differences

The subjects were divided into three educational groups:-

- (1) Africans without any formal education;
- (2) Africans of primary educational standard, i.e. Class 1 - Std. VI;
- (3) Africans of secondary educational standard, i.e. Stds. VII - X, or higher.

For a record of the number of Africans in each of these educational standard divisions, see Appendix A, Tables 7 - 9.

(1) Without formal education and primary education:

a) Baby Food series (see Appendix B, Tables 21a - 25a).

No significant differences were revealed between those without formal education and those with primary education,

except amongst the rural females. With regard to the latter group all differences concerned the advertisements depicting persons, i.e. the baby, family and doctor themes. Those without formal education as well as those with primary education preferred all advertisements depicting the European figures to those depicting the Africans. The rural female group without education, however, preferred these "European" presentations significantly more than did those who had had primary education.

b) Cigarette series (see Appendix B, Tables 21b - 25b).

With regard to the abstract design a significant difference was revealed in the rural male group. Those without formal education showed a marked preference for the angular design (29:12), while the primary-educated showed a marked preference for the circular design (29:19). This difference was significant at less than the 1% level.

c) Gramophone series (see Appendix B, Tables 21c - 25c).

Here again, there was a significant differentiation among rural subjects with regard to the abstract design. Females without formal education showed a strong preference for the circular design (27:9), while among those with primary educational level preferences for angular and circular designs were about equally distributed (28:26). The difference in preference between the group without formal education and the group with primary education was significant at the 5% level.

(2) Without formal education and secondary education:

a) Baby Food series (see Appendix B, Tables 26a - 30a).

The only significant difference appeared amongst the rural females with regard to the family theme. Those without formal education showed a strong preference for the European present-

ation (42:9), while among those with secondary education preference was about equally divided between the European and African presentations (4:5). This difference in preference between the group without formal education and those of secondary educational level was significant at the 5% level.

b) Cigarette series (see Appendix B, Tables 26b - 30b).

There were no significant differentiations in European or African bias between those without formal education and those with secondary education within any of the four main groups of subjects.

c) Gramophone series (see Appendix B, Tables 26c - 30c).

Significant differences in bias occurred amongst the rural groups.

Rural males and females of both these educational groups clearly preferred the European presentation of the family theme, but this preference was significantly stronger among those without formal education than those with secondary education.

The rural females without formal education showed a strong preference for the circular abstract design (27:9); those with secondary education clearly preferred the angular design (10:0). The difference between the uneducated and secondary-educated rural females was highly significant below the 1% level.

(3) Primary education and secondary education:

a) Baby Food series (see Appendix B, Tables 31a - 35a).

Significant differences between primary and secondary-educated subjects were found in the urban groups in their reactions to the doctor theme.

The primary-educated males showed a marked preference for the European doctor (48:24), while those with secondary educa-

tion showed a marked preference for the African doctor (10:4). This difference was significant at the 2% level.

The primary-educated urban females likewise showed a marked preference for the European doctor, but no clear preference for either presentation was shown by the secondary-educated urban females (14:18). The difference between these two groups of females was significant at the 5% level.

b) Cigarette series (see Appendix B, Tables 31b - 35b).

There were no significant differences in preferences between primary- and secondary-educated Africans of all groups.

c) Gramophone series (see Appendix B, Tables 31c - 35c).

Except amongst the rural females in respect of the baby theme and the abstract design there were no significant differences between the primary- and secondary-educated group of subjects.

Rural females with primary education showed a marked preference for the European baby advertisement (50:4); those of secondary educational level showed an equal preference for both European and African babies (5:5). This difference was significant at the 1% level.

Rural females of primary educational level showed an equal preference for the angular and circular designs (28:26); but those with secondary education markedly preferred the angular design (10:0). The difference between the primary- and secondary-educated rural females was significant at the 2% level.

SUMMARY OF PART I

(1) Significant preferences:

i) Advertisements illustrating persons.

The results show clearly that of the advertisements illustrating persons, the subjects tested on both the Cigarette and Gramophone series, consistently preferred the "European" advertisements to their "African" counterparts. In each case the urban and rural groups' preference was significant at the 1% (or less) level.

The Baby Food series differed in that the urban females showed no significant preference for either the European or African presentations, and the urban males showed a significant preference for the African baby advertisement and no significant preference for either the European or African family advertisement. The rural groups, however, showed (like those of the Cigarette and Gramophone series) a consistently significant preference for all the European presentations.

ii) Scenery advertisements.

On the whole, there were few significant preferences for either the urban or the rural scenery advertisement. The urban males showed a significant preference for the urban scene of the Baby Food series and the urban and rural females showed a significant preference for the urban scene of the Gramophone series.

iii) Abstract design advertisements.

In the Baby Food series both the urban and the rural groups showed a significant preference for the dark abstract design advertisement.

In the Cigarette series the urban groups showed a significant preference for the circular design advertisement (less than the 1% level), while the rural males showed no significant preference for either the angular or the circular design advertisement, and the rural females showed a significant preference for the angular design advertisement

In the Gramophone series the urban groups again showed a significant preference for the circular design; of the rural groups only the males in this instance showed a significant preference for this advertisement (5% level).

(2) Environmental differences:

In the Baby Food series there were significant differences between the urban and rural males, as well as between urban and rural females regarding the baby advertisements. The urban and rural males differed in respect of the advertisement depicting the family. In each case the rural groups preferred the advertisement with the European presentation, while the urban females showed no significant preference for either the European or the African baby and family advertisements, and the urban males showed no significant preference for the European or African family advertisement.

In the Cigarette and Gramophone series there were significant differences between the urban and rural groups only in connection with the abstract designs. In the Cigarette series both urban males and urban females showed a significantly stronger preference for the circular design than was expressed by the rural groups; in the Gramophone series only the urban females showed a significantly stronger preference for the circular design than did the rural females.

(3) Sex differences:

There were no differences in relation to sex between the two

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
KING GEORGE V AVENUE - DURBAN

P 78 c

urban groups, or between the two rural groups, except that in the Gramophone series the rural males preferred the circular design advertisement significantly more than did the rural females.

(4) Age differences:

The only significant differences between the under and the over 35-year-old groups were those of the rural groups tested on the Baby Food and Cigarette series. These differences occurred with regard to the scenery advertisements of the Baby Food and Cigarette series, and the abstract design in the Cigarette series.

In the Baby Food series the preference of the under 35-year-old rural females for the urban scene was significantly greater than that of the over 35-year-old rural females; in the Cigarette series the younger rural males showed a greater preference for the urban scene than did the older rural males. In both cases it was the younger rural group who preferred the urban scene significantly more than did the older rural group.

The younger rural females showed a greater preference for the angular design than did the older rural females.

(5) Educational differences:

i) Without formal education and primary education.

There were few significant differences between Africans who had no formal education and those who had primary education. In the Baby Food series the only significant differences occurred amongst the rural females. Rural females without formal education as well as those with primary education preferred the advertisements depicting the European figures (i.e. the baby, family and doctor advertisements) to those depicting Africans. The uneducated rural females, however, preferred these "European" advertisements significantly more than did the rural females of primary educational level.

In the Cigarette and Gramophone series there were no significant differences in preferences between uneducated Africans and those with primary education, except in connection with the abstract design. In the Cigarette series the rural males without formal education showed a significantly stronger preference for the angular design advertisement than did those of primary educational level; while in the Gramophone series the uneducated rural females showed a significantly stronger preference for the circular design than did those with primary education.

ii) Without formal education and secondary education.

In the Baby Food series the rural females without formal education showed a significantly stronger preference for the European family advertisement than did those with secondary education. In the Cigarette series there were no significant differences in preferences between Africans without formal education and those with secondary education. In the Gramophone series rural males and females without formal education both preferred the European family advertisement significantly more than did those with secondary education. The rural females without formal education showed a significantly stronger preference for the circular abstract design than did those with secondary education. As the sample of secondary-educated Africans was small these findings should be regarded with caution.

iii) Primary education and secondary education.

In the Baby Food series the primary-educated urban males and females showed significantly stronger preferences for the European doctor than did those with secondary education.

No significant differences between the primary- and secondary-educated Africans in their European-African bias was revealed in the Cigarette series.

In the Gramophone series the rural females with primary education showed a significantly stronger preference for the European baby than did those with secondary education. Rural females with secondary education showed a significantly greater preference for the angular design than did those with primary education.

Owing to the small number of secondary-educated Africans in the sample, these findings should be regarded with caution.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the investigation was to examine African preferences for "European" or "African" advertisements. While this was done, environmental, sex, age and educational differences between the subjects were taken into consideration.

The findings showed that with the exception of the urban groups of the Baby Food series¹⁾, advertisements depicting Europeans were preferred to those depicting Africans by urban and rural groups of both sexes.

The reason for the divergence in relation to the Baby Food series may perhaps be found in an examination of the artistic presentation of the themes in this and the other two series. The most conspicuous difference is that all the African figures of the Baby Food series were drawn in lighter tones of grey than those of either the other two series (see photographs, pages 6 - 11). When the African figures were drawn in lighter tones of grey, the urban groups showed a preference for the European and African presentations which resembled a chance distribution pattern²⁾; when, however, they were drawn in darker tones of grey, they showed significant preferences for the European presentations. The rural groups, on the other hand, showed preferences for the European presentations regardless of whether the figures were drawn in light or dark tones of grey.

For the advertisements contrasting the traditional rural environment of the African and the modern urban environment, there were

-
- 1) The urban males of this series did, however, agree with the general pattern in their preference for the European doctor advertisement.
 - 2) The urban males differed in that they significantly preferred the African baby advertisement and the European doctor.

few significant preferences¹⁾. This paucity of significant preferences may be due to the absence of identifiable "models" in the pictures, or because both types of advertisements appeared equally attractive.

The findings regarding the abstract design are in a sense surprising. According to Doob (quoted earlier) the less acculturated African would, in comparison with the more westernised African, show a greater preference for the circular design. Our findings appear to be the opposite, in that the urban groups expressed a statistically greater preference for the circular design than did the rural groups.

Preferential differences relating to age groups occurred only in connection with the scenery advertisements (and on one occasion with regard to the abstract design. The younger rural males in one series, and the younger rural females in another, revealed a greater preference for the urban scene than did the older rural groups. This may suggest that the younger rural generations find urban scenery advertisements more appealing than do the older ones. As similar findings did not occur over all three series, however, there is insufficient evidence to establish this point.

The few significant differences between Africans of different educational levels occurred mainly amongst the rural groups, in that the lower educated Africans showed significantly stronger preferences for the "European" advertisements than did the higher educated. This pattern was consistent. As regards the abstract design, the lower educated rural females in the Gramophone series tended to prefer the circular design and the higher, the angular design. This finding was consistent in the Gramophone series, but did not occur at all in the Cigarette series.

i) The urban males of the Baby Food series and the urban and rural females of the Gramophone series showed a significant preference for the urban scene advertisement.

In general, there was a little difference regarding European-African bias which could be ascribed to different environment, sex, age and educational level. Rather, there were marked similarities. The predominant preference for the advertisements depicting the European figures may be illustrative of a desire amongst urban and rural Africans of both sexes, irrespective of age or educational level, to become "Europeanised", i.e. to assimilate the European culture into their own. However, until further evidence is available this interpretation must be regarded as tentative.

PART II

PREFERENCES RELATING TO THEMES

With ten different advertising 'themes', the method of paired comparisons also gave an indication of each single theme's preference-rating in relation to the other nine themes in its series.

The total number of times each theme was preferred to any other theme in its series was calculated for each of the main groups of respondents in each series. The themes were placed in rank order according to the percentage of points scored. Tables A, B and C show the theme scores of the Baby Food, Cigarette and Gramophone series respectively. Figures A, B and C illustrate graphically the rank order of percentage scores for each group of respondents in respect of each series.

Using the chi-squared test of overall significance¹⁾ it was found without exception that the probability that these scores were due to chance, was less than one in a thousand. Also, Spearman's rank correlation method²⁾ was used to test the order in which the main groups in each series ranked each advertisement and theme. It was found that there was a significant correlation between the order in which each group ranked the advertisements (with one exception³⁾), i.e. in each series each group's rank order of preference followed a similar pattern.

The European baby was ranked first by all groups in all three series (with one exception⁴⁾). This was in contrast with the African baby which was ranked low in all but the Baby Food series. There was a similar pattern of ranking of the family theme. The European family was

1) and 2) Kendall, M.G., The Advanced Theory of Statistics, 1948.

3) There was no significant correlation between the orders in which the urban and the rural females ranked the different themes in the Cigarette series.

4) The rural males ranked the European baby of the Gramophone series third.

placed in the top four rankings in each instance, but the African family advertisement was ranked high only in the Baby Food series.

In the series where the baby and family themes were ranked low, the figures had been drawn in darker tones of grey. It would therefore appear that a darker rendering of skin-colour resulted in a lesser preference for the otherwise popular themes.

On the whole these findings indicate that in advertisements illustrating some aspect of family-life, Africans prefer to see a European rather than an African presentation; if there is to be an African presentation they prefer to see representatives of their own race drawn in light rather than dark shades of grey.

The rank order of the European doctor theme varied; in the Baby Food series it was placed fourth or fifth by all groups, except the rural females who ranked it ninth; while in the Cigarette series it was placed in the top four rankings by all groups, except the rural females who placed it sixth. It appears that for rural females, who are probably the least acculturated of the groups, the European doctor theme has little appeal.

Each group of respondents ranked the African doctor in all series close to, but usually lower, than his European colleague.

The European teacher found himself in the fifth or sixth position, while the African teacher was ranked seventh by all groups.

In the Baby Food series the scenery advertisements did not attain a ranking higher than fifth. In the Cigarette series the urban groups ranked both scenery advertisements low; the rural groups, however, gave the rural scene a high ranking (third or fourth). The urban scene was placed relatively high (fourth) by the rural females. In the Gramophone series all groups included both urban and rural scenes in the top four rankings.

The abstract designs were ranked consistently low by all groups of respondents in all series of test advertisements.

TABLE A

AFRICAN PREFERENCE-RATINGS OF EASY FOOD ADVERTISEMENTS

GROUPS												
Advertisements	Urban Males			Urban Females			Urban Males			Urban Females		
	Score out of 900	%	Rank Order	Score out of 900	%	Rank Order	Score out of 900	%	Rank Order	Score out of 900	%	Rank Order
Eur. Baby	630	70	1	651	72	1	731	81	1	684	76	1
Afr. Baby	614	68	3	621	69	2	583	65	3	518	58	3
Eur. Family	618	69	2	608	68	3	613	68	2	543	60	2
Afr. Family	524	58	4	540	60	4	473	53	4	493	55	4
Eur. Doctor	447	50	5	473	53	5	438	49	6	341	38	9
Afr. Doctor	403	45	7	434	48	6	411	46	7	347	39	8
Urban Scenery	372	41	8	403	45	8	380	42	8	452	50	6
Rural Scenery	421	47	6	424	47	7	446	50	5	460	51	5
Light Abstract	199	22	10	139	15	10	185	21	10	305	34	10
Dark Abstract	272	30	9	207	23	9	240	27	9	357	40	7

TABLE B
AFRICAN PREFERENCE-RATINGS OF CIGARETTE ADVERTISEMENTS

GROUPS												
Advertisements	Urban Males			Urban Females			Urban Males			Urban Females		
	Score out of 900	%	Rank Order	Score out of 900	%	Rank Order	Score out of 900	%	Rank Order	Score out of 900	%	Rank Order
Eur. Baby	750	83	1	744	83	1	741	82	1	736	82	1
Afr. Baby	546	61	3	544	60	3	472	52	5	401	45	5
Eur. Family	679	75	2	676	75	2	615	68	2	584	65	2
Afr. Family	437	49	6	436	48	6	401	45	7	369	41	7
Eur. Doctor	504	56	4	496	55	4	479	53	3	400	44	6
Afr. Doctor	451	50	5	451	50	5	457	51	6	359	40	8
Urban Scenery	320	36	8	287	32	9	400	44	8	494	55	4
Rural Scenery	411	46	7	398	44	7	475	53	3	536	60	3
Angular Design	129	14	10	161	18	10	227	25	10	335	37	9
Circular Design	273	30	9	307	34	8	233	26	9	286	32	10

TABLE C

AFRICAN PREFERENCE-RATINGS OF GRAMOPHONE ADVERTISEMENTS

GROUPS												
Advertisements	Urban Males			Urban Females			Urban Males			Urban Females		
	Score out of 900	%	Rank Order	Score out of 900	%	Rank Order	Score out of 900	%	Rank Order	Score out of 900	%	Rank Order
Eur. Baby	707	79	1	708	79	1	659	73	3	671	75	1
Afr. Baby	510	57	5	507	56	5	462	51	5	418	46	6
Eur. Family	702	78	2	706	78	2	655	73	3	636	71	3
Afr. Family	335	37	8	324	36	8	320	36	8	312	35	8
Eur. Teacher	441	49	6	475	53	6	458	51	5	454	50	5
Afr. Teacher	362	40	7	372	41	7	356	40	7	341	38	7
Urban Scenery	626	70	3	633	70	3	671	75	1	666	74	2
Rural Scenery	586	65	4	557	62	4	671	75	1	626	70	4
Angular Design	90	10	10	79	9	10	109	12	10	186	21	9
Circular Design	141	16	9	139	15	9	139	15	9	190	21	9

Fig. A

AFRICAN RANK ORDER OF BABY FOOD ADVERTISEMENTS

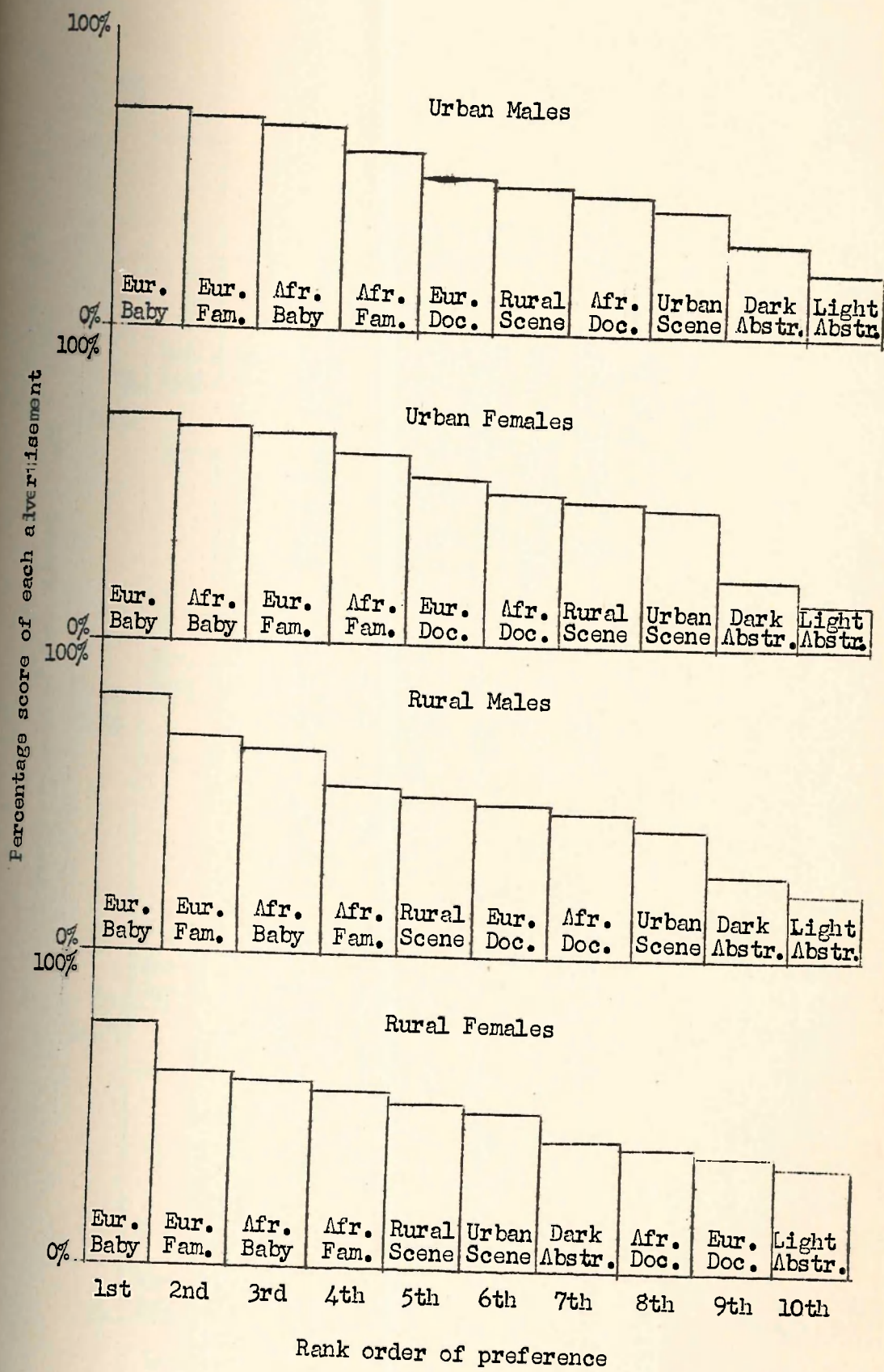


Fig. B

AFRICAN RANK ORDER OF CIGARETTE ADVERTISEMENTS

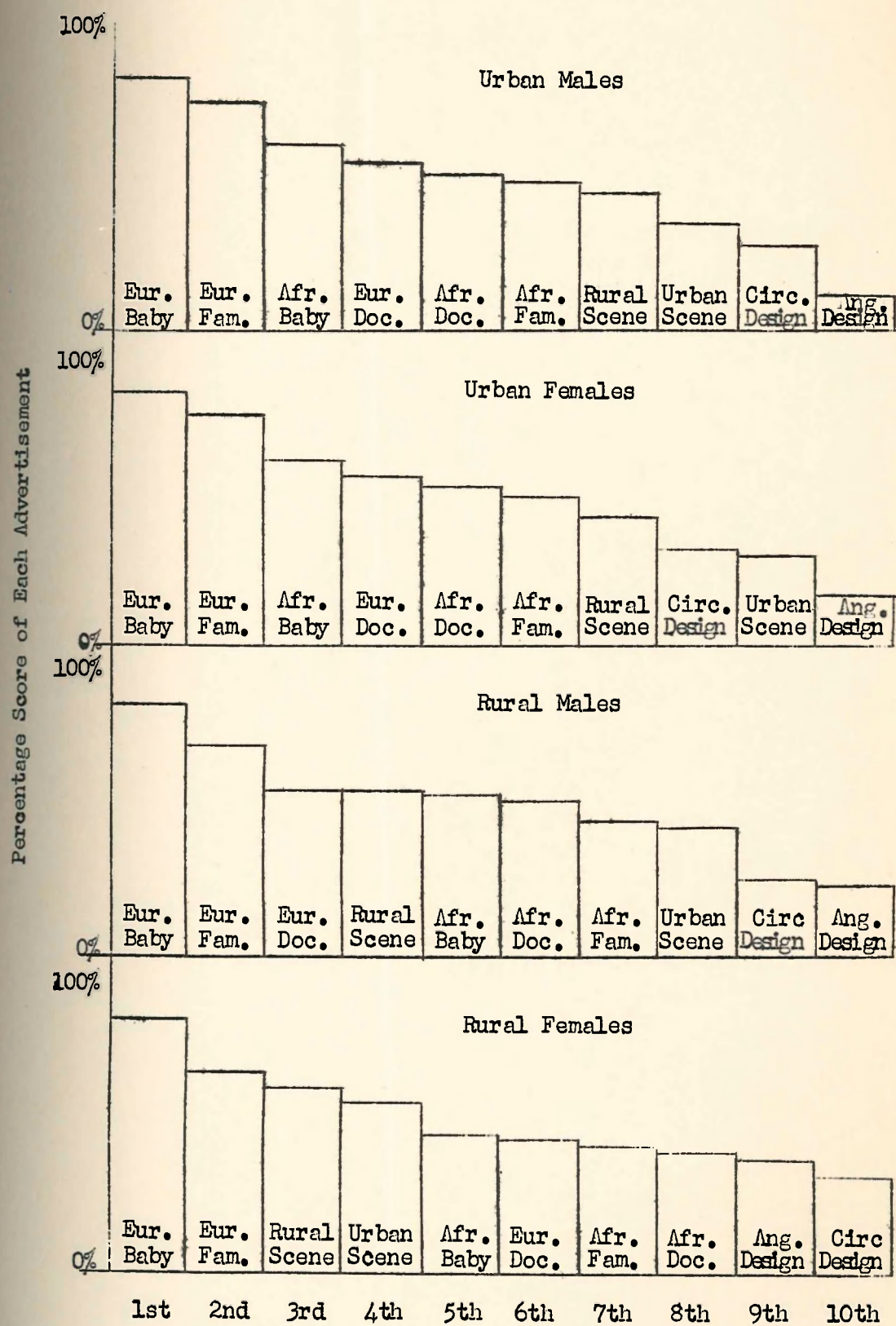
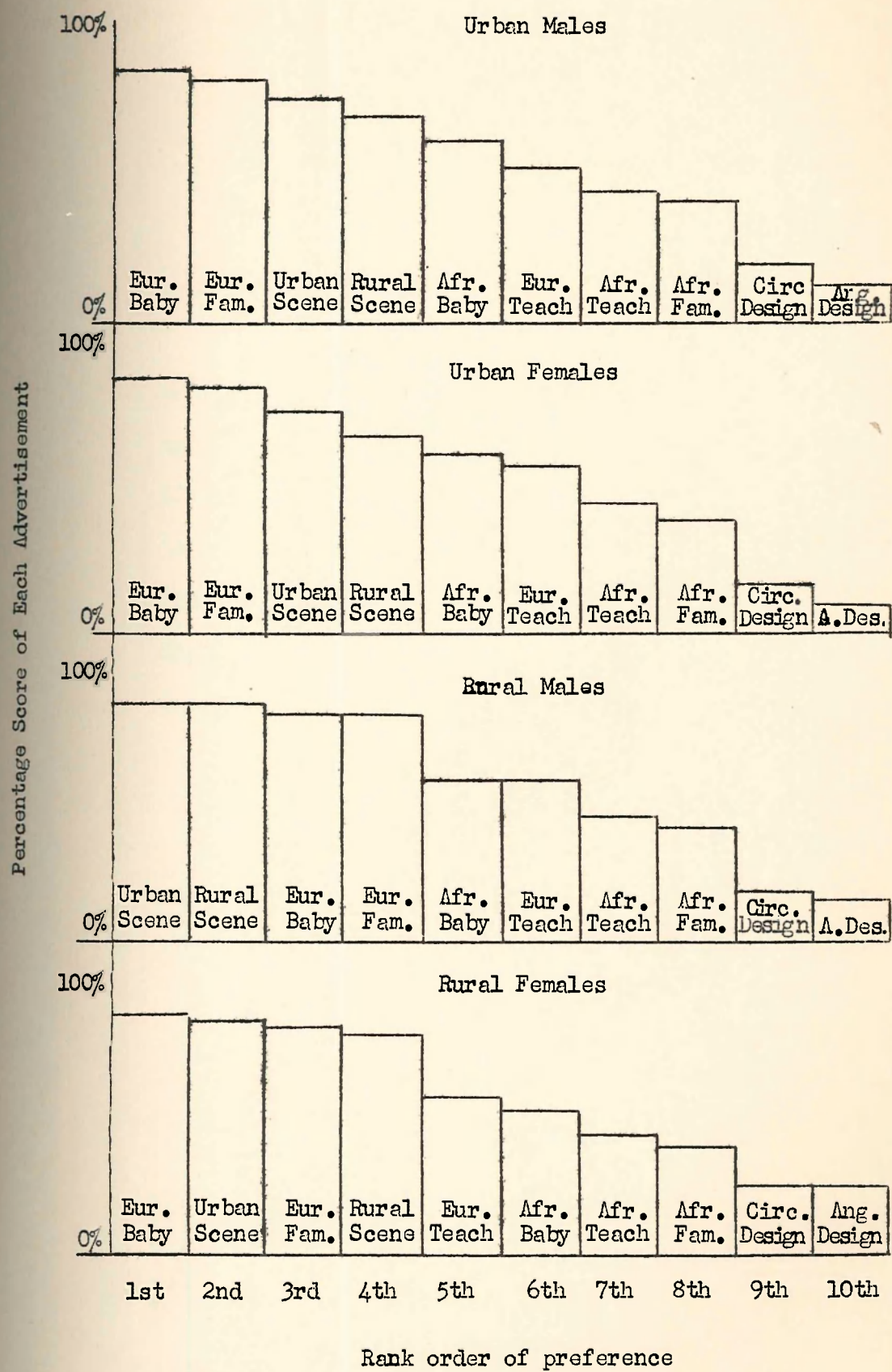


Fig. C

AFRICAN RANK ORDER OF GRAMOPHONE ADVERTISEMENTS



A P P E N D I X A

Tables showing sample distribution

Marital status	Tables 1 - 3
Age	Tables 4 - 6
Education	Tables 7 - 9
Occupation	Tables 10 - 15
Urban area	Tables 16 - 18
Rural area	Tables 19 - 21
Testers	Tables 22 - 24

- MARITAL STATUS -

TABLE 1

Distribution according to marital status of Africans tested on
Baby Food series

Groups	Married	Single	Total
Urban males	54	46	100
Urban females	56	44	100
Rural males	53	47	100
Rural females	74	26	100
Total	237	163	400

TABLE 2

Distribution according to marital status of Africans tested on
Cigarette series

Groups	Married	Single	Total
Urban males	61	39	100
Urban females	71	29	100
Rural males	62	38	100
Rural females	75	25	100
Total	269	131	400

TABLE 3

Distribution according to marital status of Africans tested on
Gramophone series

Groups	Married	Single	Total
Urban males	62	38	100
Urban females	60	40	100
Rural males	56	44	100
Rural females	59	41	100
Total	237	163	400

- AGE -

TABLE 4

Age distribution of Africans tested on Baby Food series

Groups	Age in Years						
	Under 35		Total	Over 35			Total
	16-25	26-35		26-35	46-55	56 +	
Urban males	43	26	69	21	8	2	31
Urban females	48	37	85	9	4	2	15
Rural males	51	18	69	14	7	10	31
Rural females	44	25	69	23	5	3	31
Total	186	106	292	67	24	17	108

TABLE 5

Age distribution of Africans tested on Cigarette series

Groups	Age in Years						
	Under 35		Total	Over 35			Total
	16-25	26-35		26-35	46-55	56 +	
Urban males	32	35	67	20	11	2	33
Urban females	23	32	55	25	13	7	45
Rural males	41	27	68	21	7	4	32
Rural females	41	28	69	25	3	3	31
Total	137	122	259	91	34	16	141

TABLE 6

Age distribution of Africans tested on Gramophone series

Groups	Age in Years						
	Under 35		Total	Over 35			Total
	16-25	26-35		26-35	46-55	56 +	
Urban males	35	25	60	26	9	5	40
Urban females	47	29	76	11	8	5	24
Rural males	44	25	69	19	8	4	31
Rural females	52	28	80	13	3	4	20
Total	178	107	285	69	28	18	115

- OCCUPATIONS (Men) -

TABLE 10

Occupational distribution of male Africans tested on Baby Food series

Groups	Type of Employment						Total
	Un-employed	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	Domestic	Commercial	
Urban males	30	22	24	3	1	20	100
Rural males	49	18	5	25	3	0	100
Total	79	40	29	28	4	20	200

TABLE 11

Occupational distribution of male Africans tested on Cigarette series

Groups	Type of Employment						Total
	Un-employed	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	Domestic	Commercial	
Urban males	32	17	28	10	1	12	100
Rural males	37	4	24	29	2	4	100
Total	69	21	52	39	3	16	200

TABLE 12

Occupational distribution of male Africans tested on Gramophone series

Groups	Type of Employment						Total
	Un-employed	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	Domestic	Commercial	
Urban males	28	11	32	5	10	14	100
Rural males	52	2	11	34	1	0	100
Total	80	13	43	39	11	14	200

KEY TO OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Type of Employment					
Unemployed	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Domestic	Commercial
Student Retired Pensioner (Temporarily unemployed)	Carpenter Policeman Weaver Plumber Farmer Hospital orderly Plasterer Builder Painter-contractor	Bus conductor Caretaker Messenger G.P.O. Bakery hand Gardener Factory hand Waiter Builder's hand Busdriver Railway worker Lorry driver Interpreter Delivery hand Lawyer's clerk Factory clerk Chemist hand Night watch	Street sweeper Labourer Market hand Field hand Herder Firewood seller	Kitchen attendant	General Repairs Garage attendant Hawker Messenger (General dealer) Office messenger Salesman Butcher assistant Tea room hand Insurance agent

- OCCUPATIONS (Women) -

TABLE 13

Occupational distribution of female Africans tested on Baby Food series

Type of Employment						
Groups	Unemployed	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Manual	Housewife	Total
Urban females	30	15	12	17	26	100
Rural females	21	2	1	4	72	100
Total	51	17	13	21	98	200

TABLE 14

Occupational distribution of female Africans tested on Cigarette series

Type of Employment						
Groups	Unemployed	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Manual	Housewife	Total
Urban females	17	23	17	16	27	100
Rural females	20	3	1	4	72	100
Total	37	26	18	20	99	200

TABLE 15

Occupational distribution of female Africans tested on Gramophone series

Type of Employment						
Groups	Unemployed	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Manual	Housewife	Total
Urban females	20	19	23	19	19	100
Rural females	17	0	28	0	55	100
Total	37	19	51	19	74	200

KEY TO OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Type of Employment				
Unemployed	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Manual	Housewife
Student Pensioner (Temporarily unemployed)	Nurse aid Typist Teacher Student nurse First-aider Nurse Dressmaker	Receptionist Waitress Cook Kitchenmaid Interpreter Domestic servant Saleslady Storekeeper Hotel keeper Nanny	Washerwoman Farm . labourer Yard cleaner Fruit seller	Housewife

- URBAN AREA -

TABLE 16

Urban distribution of Africans tested on Baby Food series

Urban areas			
Groups	Pietermaritzburg and Sobantu Village	Edendale	Total
Urban males	66	34	100
Urban females	74	26	100
Total	140	60	200

TABLE 17

Urban distribution of Africans tested on Cigarette series

Urban areas			
Groups	Pietermaritzburg and Sobantu Village	Edendale	Total
Urban males	89	11	100
Urban females	75	25	100
Total	164	36	200

TABLE 18

Urban distribution of Africans tested on Gramophone series

Urban areas			
Groups	Pietermaritzburg and Sobantu Village	Edendale	Total
Urban males	68	32	100
Urban females	60	40	100
Total	128	72	200

- RURAL AREA -

TABLE 19

Rural distribution of Africans tested on Baby Food series

Rural areas			
Groups	Drummond	Polela	Total
Rural males	50	50	100
Rural females	50	50	100
Total	100	100	200

TABLE 20

Rural distribution of Africans tested on Cigarette series

Rural areas			
Groups	Drummond	Polela	Total
Rural males	50	50	100
Rural females	50	50	100
Total	100	100	200

TABLE 21

Rural distribution of Africans tested on Gramophone series

Rural areas			
Groups	Drummond	Polela	Total
Rural males	50	50	100
Rural females	50	50	100
Total	100	100	200

- TESTERS -

TABLE 22

Number of Africans tested by each tester on Baby Food series

Testers					
Groups	T ¹	T ²	T ¹ -w-O	Others	Total
Urban males	75	0	23	2	100
Urban females	96	0	4	0	100
Rural males	39	52	9	0	100
Rural females	40	36	24	0	100
Total	250	88	60	2	400

TABLE 23

Number of Africans tested by each tester on Cigarette series

Testers					
Groups	T ¹	T ²	T ¹ -w-O	Others	Total
Urban males	89	0	11	0	100
Urban females	92	0	7	1	100
Rural males	50	43	0	7	100
Rural females	48	45	0	7	100
Total	279	88	18	15	400

TABLE 24

Number of Africans tested by each tester on Gramophone series

Testers					
Groups	T ¹	T ²	T ¹ -w-O	Others	Total
Urban males	100	0	0	0	100
Urban females	100	0	0	0	100
Rural males	100	0	0	0	100
Rural females	100	0	0	0	100
Total	400	0	0	0	400

Key to testers:-

T¹ = main African tester (male)

T² = assistant African tester (male)

T¹-w-O = T¹ accompanied by investigator (European female)

A P P E N D I X B

Tables showing number of Africans preferring "European" or "African"
advertisements of Baby Food, Cigarette and Gramophone series

Significant Preferences	Tables 1a - 5c
Environmental Differences	Tables 6a - 10c
Sex Differences	Tables 11a - 15c
Age Differences	Tables 16a - 20c
Educational Differences	Tables 21a - 35c

SIGNIFICANT PREFERENCES

-

Baby Food Series

Tables 1a - 5a show the differences between the observed and the expected number of Africans in each group preferring the "European" or the "African" advertisements of the Baby Food series.

Table 1a

Number of Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		χ^2	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	36	50	64	50	7.29	.01-.001	***
Urban females	50	50	50	50	0.1	> .05	
Rural males	86	50	14	50	50.41	< .001	***
Rural females	83	50	17	50	42.25	< .001	***

Table 2a

Number of Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. family		Afr. family		χ^2	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	58	50	42	50	2.25	.20-.10	
Urban females	59	50	41	50	2.89	.10-.05	
Rural males	74	50	26	50	22.09	< .001	***
Rural females	67	50	33	50	10.89	.001	***

Table 3a

Number of Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor		χ^2	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	61	50	39	50	4.41	.05-.02	*
Urban females	59	50	41	50	2.89	.01-.05	
Rural males	73	50	27	50	20.25	.001	***
Rural females	61	50	39	50	4.41	.05-.02	*

Table 4a

Number of Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		χ^2	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	61	50	39	50	4.41	.05-.02	*
Urban females	60	50	40	50	3.61	.10-.05	
Rural males	59	50	41	50	2.89	.10-.05	
Rural females	58	50	42	50	2.25	.20-.10	

Table 5a

Number of Africans preferring light or dark abstract advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Light Design		Dark Design		χ^2	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	27	50	73	50	20.25	< .001	
Urban females	37	50	63	50	6.25	.02-.01	***
Rural males	30	50	70	50	15.21	.001	***
Rural females	36	50	64	50	7.29	.01-.001	***

SIGNIFICANT PREFERENCES

Cigarette Series

Tables 1b - 5b show the differences between the observed and the expected number of Africans in each group preferring the "European" or the "African" advertisements of the Cigarette series.

Table 1b

Number of Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	89	50	11	50	59.29	<.001	***
Urban females	88	50	12	50	56.25	<.001	***
Rural males	90	50	10	50	62.41	<.001	***
Rural females	90	50	10	50	62.41	<.001	***

Table 2b

Number of Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	82	50	18	50	39.69	<.001	***
Urban females	83	50	17	50	42.25	<.001	***
Rural males	76	50	24	50	26.01	<.001	***
Rural females	78	50	22	50	31.25	<.001	***

Table 3b

Number of Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor		X ²	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	79	50	21	50	32.49	<.001	***
Urban females	74	50	26	50	22.09	<.001	***
Rural males	67	50	33	50	10.89	.001	***
Rural females	65	50	35	50	8.41	.01-.001	***

Table 4b

Number of Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	53	50	47	50	.25	>.05	
Urban females	59	50	41	50	2.89	.10-.05	
Rural males	48	50	52	50	.09	>.05	
Rural females	46	50	54	50	.49	>.05	

Table 5b

Number of Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Ang. Design		Circ. Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	14	50	86	50	50.41	<.001	***
Urban females	16	50	84	50	44.89	<.001	***
Rural males	55	50	45	50	.81	>.05	
Rural females	63	50	37	50	6.25	.02-.01	**

SIGNIFICANT PREFERENCES - Gramophone Series

Tables 1c - 5c show the differences between the observed and the expected number of Africans in each group preferring the "European" or the "African" advertisements of the Gramophone series.

Table 1c

Number of Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	96	50	4	50	82.81	<.001	***
Urban females	94	50	6	50	75.59	<.001	***
Rural males	92	50	8	50	68.89	<.001	***
Rural females	89	50	11	50	59.29	<.001	***

Table 2c

Number of Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	96	50	4	50	82.81	<.001	***
Urban females	94	50	6	50	75.59	<.001	***
Rural males	90	50	10	50	62.41	<.001	***
Rural females	91	50	9	50	65.61	<.001	***

Table 3c

Number of Africans preferring European or African teacher advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Teacher		Afr. Teacher		X ²	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	84	50	16	50	44.89	<.001	***
Urban females	83	50	17	50	42.25	<.001	***
Rural males	87	50	13	50	53.29	<.001	***
Rural females	87	50	13	50	53.29	<.001	***

Table 4c

Number of Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Urban scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	54	50	46	50	.49	>.05	
Urban females	62	50	38	50	5.29	.05-.02	*
Rural males	47	50	53	50	.05	>.05	
Rural females	65	50	35	50	8.41	.01-.001	***

Table 5c

Number of Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Ang. Design		Circ. Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.			
Urban males	27	50	73	50	20.25	<.001	***
Urban females	29	50	71	50	16.81	<.001	***
Rural males	35	50	65	50	8.41	.01-.001	***
Rural females	47	50	53	50	.05	>.05	

ENVIRONMENTAL DIFFERENCES - Baby Food Series

Tables 6a - 10a show the number of urban and rural Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Baby Food series.

Table 6a

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Baby Food series

	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby				
Groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	χ^2	P	Sig.
Males	36	86	64	14	50.46	< .001	***
Females	50	83	50	17	24.44	< .001	***

Table 7a

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Baby Food series

	Eur. Family		Afr. Family				
Groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	χ^2	P	Sig.
Males	58	74	42	26	5.01	.05-.02	*
Females	59	67	41	33	1.73	.20-.10	

Table 8a

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Baby Food series

	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor				
Groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	χ^2	P	Sig.
Males	61	73	39	27	3.82	.10-.05	
Females	59	61	41	39	< 1	> .05	

Table 9a

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Baby Food series

	Urban Scene		Rural Scene				
Groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	χ^2	P	Sig.
Males	61	59	39	41	< 1	> .05	
Females	60	58	40	42	< 1	> .05	

Table 10a

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring light or dark abstract design advertisement of Baby Food series

	Light Design		Dark Design				
Groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	χ^2	P	Sig.
Males	27	30	73	70	< 1	> .05	
Females	37	36	63	64	0	> .05	

ENVIRONMENTAL DIFFERENCES - Cigarette Series

Tables 6b - 10b show the number of urban and rural Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Cigarette series.

Table 6b

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Cigarette series

	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby				
Groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	X ²	P	Sig.
Males	89	90	11	10	0	>.05	
Females	88	90	12	10	<1	>.05	

Table 7b

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Cigarette series

	Eur. Family		Afr. Family				
Groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	X ²	P	Sig.
Males	82	76	18	24	<1	>.05	
Females	83	78	17	22	<1	>.05	

Table 8b

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Cigarette series

	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor				
Groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	X ²	P	Sig.
Males	79	67	21	33	3.06	.10-.05	
Females	74	65	26	35	1.50	.30-.20	

Table 9b

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Cigarette series

	Urban Scene		Rural Scene				
Groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	X ²	P	Sig.
Males	53	48	47	52	<1	>.05	
Females	59	46	41	54	2.88	.10-.05	

Table 10b

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Cigarette series

	Ang. Design		Circ. Design				
Group	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	X ²	P	Sig.
Males	14	55	86	45	35.40	<.001	***
Females	16	63	84	37	44.27	<.001	***

ENVIRONMENTAL DIFFERENCES - Gramophone Series

Tables 6c - 10c show the number of urban and rural Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Gramophone series

Table 6c

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Gramophone series

	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby				
Groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	χ^2	P	Sig.
Males	96	92	4	8	< 1	$> .05$	
Females	94	89	6	11	1.02	.50-.30	

Table 7c

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Gramophone series

	Eur. Family		Afr. Family				
Groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	χ^2	P	Sig.
Males	96	90	4	10	1.92	.20-.10	
Females	94	91	6	9	< 1	$> .05$	

Table 8c

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Gramophone series

	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor				
Groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	χ^2	P	Sig.
Males	84	87	16	13	< 1	$> .05$	
Females	83	87	17	13	< 1	$> .05$	

Table 9c

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Gramophone series

	Urban Scene		Rural Scene				
Groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	χ^2	P	Sig.
Males	54	47	46	53	< 1	$> .05$	
Females	62	65	38	35	< 1	$> .05$	

Table 10c

Number of urban and rural Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Gramophone series

	Ang. Design		Circ. Design				
Groups	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	χ^2	P	Sig.
Males	27	35	73	65	1.14	.30-.20	
Females	29	47	71	53	6.13	.02-.01	**

SEX DIFFERENCES

- Baby Food Series

Tables 11a - 15a show the number of male and female Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Baby Food series.

Table 11a

Number of male and female Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Baby Food series

	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	X ²	P	Sig.
Urban	36	50	64	50	3.44	.10-.05	
Rural	86	83	14	17	< 1	> .05	

Table 12a

Number of male and female Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Baby Food series

	Eur. Family		Afr. Family				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	X ²	P	Sig.
Urban	58	59	42	41	0	> .05	
Rural	74	67	26	33	< 1	> .05	

Table 13a

Number of male and female Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Baby Food series

	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	X ²	P	Sig.
Urban	61	59	39	41	< 1	> .05	
Rural	73	61	27	39	2.73	.10-.05	

Table 14a

Number of male and female Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Baby Food series

	Urban Scene		Rural Scene				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	X ²	P	Sig.
Urban	61	60	39	40	0	> .05	
Rural	59	58	41	42	0	> .05	

Table 15a

Number of male and female Africans preferring light or dark abstract design advertisement of Baby Food series

	Light Design		Dark Design				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	X ²	P	Sig.
Urban	27	37	73	63	1.86	.20-.10	
Rural	30	36	70	64	1.10	.30-.20	

SEX DIFFERENCES

- Baby Food Series

Tables 11a - 15a show the number of male and female Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Baby Food series.

Table 11a

Number of male and female Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Baby Food series

	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	X ²	P	Sig.
Urban	36	50	64	50	3.44	.10-.05	
Rural	86	83	14	17	< 1	> .05	

Table 12a

Number of male and female Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Baby Food series

	Eur. Family		Afr. Family				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	X ²	P	Sig.
Urban	58	59	42	41	0	> .05	
Rural	74	67	26	33	< 1	> .05	

Table 13a

Number of male and female Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Baby Food series

	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	X ²	P	Sig.
Urban	61	59	39	41	< 1	> .05	
Rural	73	61	27	39	2.73	.10-.05	

Table 14a

Number of male and female Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Baby Food series

	Urban Scene		Rural Scene				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	X ²	P	Sig.
Urban	61	60	39	40	0	> .05	
Rural	59	58	41	42	0	> .05	

Table 15a

Number of male and female Africans preferring light or dark abstract design advertisement of Baby Food series

	Light Design		Dark Design				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	X ²	P	Sig.
Urban	27	37	73	63	1.86	.20-.10	
Rural	30	36	70	64	1.10	.30-.20	

SEX DIFFERENCES

- Cigarette Series

Tables 11b - 15b show the number of male and female Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Cigarette series.

Table 11b

Number of male and female Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		χ^2	P	Sig.
	Males	Females	Males	Females			
Urban	89	88	11	12	0	>.05	
Rural	90	90	10	10	0	>.05	

Table 12b

Number of male and female Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		χ^2	P	Sig.
	Males	Females	Males	Females			
Urban	82	83	18	17	0	>.05	
Rural	76	78	24	22	<1	>.05	

Table 13b

Number of male and female Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor		χ^2	P	Sig.
	Males	Females	Males	Females			
Urban	79	74	21	26	<1	>.05	
Rural	67	65	33	35	<1	>.05	

Table 14b

Number of male and female Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		χ^2	P	Sig.
	Males	Females	Males	Females			
Urban	53	59	47	41	<1	>.05	
Rural	48	46	52	54	<1	>.05	

Table 15b

Number of male and female Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Ang. Design		Circ. Design		χ^2	P	Sig.
	Males	Females	Males	Females			
Urban	14	16	86	84	<1	>.05	
Rural	55	63	45	37	1.67	.20-.10	

SEX DIFFERENCES

- Gramophone Series

Tables 11c - 15c show the number of male and female Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Gramophone series.

Table 11c

Number of male and female Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Gramophone series

	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	χ^2	P	Sig.
Urban	96	92	4	8	< 1	>.05	
Rural	94	89	6	11	1.02	.50-.30	

Table 12c

Number of male and female Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Gramophone series

	Eur. Family		Afr. Family				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	χ^2	P	Sig.
Urban	96	90	4	10	1.92	.20-.10	
Rural	94	91	6	9	< 1	>.05	

Table 13c

Number of male and female Africans preferring European or African teacher advertisement of Gramophone series

	Eur. Teacher		Afr. Teacher				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	χ^2	P	Sig.
Urban	84	87	16	13	< 1	>.05	
Rural	83	87	17	13	< 1	>.05	

Table 14c

Number of male and female Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Gramophone series

	Urban Scene		Rural Scene				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	χ^2	P	Sig.
Urban	54	47	46	53	< 1	>.05	
Rural	62	65	38	35	< 1	>.05	

Table 15c

Number of male and female Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Gramophone series

	Ang. Design		Circ. Design				
Groups	Males	Females	Males	Females	χ^2	P	Sig.
Urban	27	35	73	65	1.14	.30-.20	
Rural	29	47	71	53	6.13	.02-.01	**

AGE DIFFERENCES

Baby Food series

Tables 16a - 20a show the number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Baby Food series.

Table 16a

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P	Sig.
	<35 yrs	35+ yrs	<35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	25	11	44	20	<1	>.05	
Urban females	41	9	44	6	1.25	.30-.20	
Rural males	60	26	9	5	<1	>.05	
Rural females	57	26	12	5	<1	>.05	

Table 17a

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	<35 yrs	35+ yrs	<35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	39	19	30	12	<1	>.05	
Urban females	51	8	34	7	<1	>.05	
Rural males	53	21	16	10	<1	>.05	
Rural females	46	21	23	10	<1	>.05	

Table 18a

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor		X ²	P	Sig.
	<35 yrs	35+ yrs	<35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	40	21	29	10	1.31	.30-.20	
Urban females	52	7	33	8	<1	>.05	
Rural males	54	19	15	12	2.32	.20-.10	
Rural females	41	20	28	11	<1	>.05	

Table 19a

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	<35 yrs	35+ yrs	<35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	43	18	26	13	<1	>.05	
Urban females	53	7	32	8	<1	>.05	
Rural males	45	14	24	17	2.77	.10-.05	
Rural females	45	13	24	18	3.85	.05-.02	*

Table 20a

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring light or dark abstract design advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Light Design		Dark Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	<35 yrs	35+ yrs	<35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	22	5	47	26	<1	>.05	
Urban females	33	4	52	11	<1	>.05	
Rural males	25	5	44	26	3.21	.10-.05	
Rural females	25	11	44	20	<1	>.05	

AGE DIFFERENCES

- Cigarette Series

Tables 16b - 20b show the number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Cigarette series.

Table 16b

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P	Sig.
	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	57	32	10	1	2.09	.20-.10	
Urban females	47	41	8	4	< 1	> .05	
Rural males	59	31	9	1	2.47	.20-.10	
Rural females	62	28	7	3	< 1	> .05	

Table 17b

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	54	28	13	5	< 1	> .05	
Urban females	45	38	10	7	< 1	> .05	
Rural males	52	24	16	8	< 1	> .05	
Rural females	56	22	13	9	< 1	> .05	

Table 18b

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor		X ²	P	Sig.
	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	53	26	14	7	< 1	> .05	
Urban females	42	32	13	13	< 1	> .05	
Rural males	48	19	20	13	< 1	> .05	
Rural females	49	16	20	15	2.73	.10-.05	

Table 19b

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	37	16	30	17	< 1	> .05	
Urban females	34	25	21	20	< 1	> .05	
Rural males	41	7	27	25	11.37	> .001	***
Rural females	36	10	33	21	2.66	.20-.10	

Table 20b

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Ang. Design		Circ. Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	12	2	55	31	1.68	.20-.10	
Urban females	7	9	48	36	1.59	.30-.20	
Rural males	35	20	33	12	< 1	> .05	
Rural females	43	11	26	20	5.16	.05-.02	*

AGE DIFFERENCES

- Gramophone Series

Tables 16c - 20c show the number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Gramophone series.

Table 16c

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P	Sig.
	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	58	38	2	2	< 1	> .05	
Urban females	73	21	3	3	1.09	.30-.20	
Rural males	63	29	6	2	< 1	> .05	
Rural females	69	20	11	0	1.84	.20-.10	

Table 17c

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	59	39	1	3	< 1	> .05	
Urban females	73	21	3	3	1.09	.30-.20	
Rural males	61	29	8	2	< 1	> .05	
Rural females	72	19	8	1	< 1	> .05	

Table 18c

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring European or African teacher advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Teacher		Afr. Teacher		X ²	P	Sig.
	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	50	34	10	6	< 1	> .05	
Urban females	65	18	11	6	< 1	> .05	
Rural males	60	27	9	4	< 1	> .05	
Rural females	68	19	12	1	< 1	> .05	

Table 19c

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	32	22	28	18	< 1	> .05	
Urban females	48	14	28	10	< 1	> .05	
Rural males	37	10	32	21	3.10	.10-.05	
Rural females	50	15	30	5	< 1	> .05	

Table 20c

Number of under and over 35-year-old Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Ang. Design		Circ. Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs	< 35 yrs	35+ yrs			
Urban males	17	10	43	30	< 1	> .05	
Urban females	21	8	55	16	< 1	> .05	
Rural males	26	9	43	22	< 1	> .05	
Rural females	43	4	37	16	3.81	> .05	

EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES (Non- and Primary-Educated) - Baby Food Series

Tables 21a - 25a show the number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Baby Food series.

Table 21a

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	5	24	9	48	<1	>.05	
Urban females	3	30	3	32	<1	>.05	
Rural males	39	30	5	4	<1	>.05	
Rural females	48	27	3	13	9.20	.01-.001	***

Table 22a

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	7	43	7	29	<1	>.05	
Urban females	3	38	3	24	<1	>.05	
Rural males	35	25	9	9	<1	>.05	
Rural females	42	21	9	19	8.02	.01-.001	***

Table 23a

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	9	48	5	24	<1	>.05	
Urban females	3	42	3	20	<1	>.05	
Rural males	33	25	11	9	<1	>.05	
Rural females	37	19	14	21	4.93	.05-.02	*

Table 24a

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	7	45	7	27	<1	>.05	
Urban females	4	36	2	26	<1	>.05	
Rural males	24	20	20	14	<1	>.05	
Rural females	27	26	24	14	<1	>.05	

Table 25a

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring light or dark abstract design advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Light Design		Dark Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	2	21	12	51	<1	>.05	
Urban females	1	24	5	38	<1	>.05	
Rural males	11	10	33	24	<1	>.05	
Rural females	17	16	34	24	<1	>.05	

EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES (Non- and Primary-Educated) - Cigarette Series

Tables 21b - 25b show the number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Cigarette Series.

Table 21b

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	22	45	1	7	<1	>.05	
Urban females	18	44	1	9	<1	>.05	
Rural males	37	42	4	6	<1	>.05	
Rural females	45	36	7	1	1.88	.20-.10	

Table 22b

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	19	45	4	7	<1	>.05	
Urban females	15	44	4	9	<1	>.05	
Rural males	32	35	9	13	<1	>.05	
Rural females	39	32	13	5	1.13	.30-.20	

Table 23b

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	19	41	4	11	<1	>.05	
Urban females	13	42	6	11	<1	>.05	
Rural males	26	33	15	15	<1	>.05	
Rural females	29	27	23	10	2.06	.20-.10	

Table 24b

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	13	26	10	26	<1	>.05	
Urban females	10	32	9	21	<1	>.05	
Rural males	15	26	26	22	2.02	.20-.10	
Rural females	19	21	33	16	2.80	.10-.05	

Table 25b

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Ang. Design		Circ. Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	0	10	23	42	3.57	.10-.05	
Urban females	2	9	17	44	<1	>.05	
Rural males	29	19	12	29	7.40	.01-.001	***
Rural females	32	25	20	12	<1	>.05	

EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES (Non- and Primary-Educated) - Gramophone Series

Tables 21c - 25c show the number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Gramophone series.

Table 21c

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P.	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	16	66	2	2	<1	>.05	
Urban females	13	59	2	1	1.75	.20-.10	
Rural males	35	50	0	6	<1	>.05	
Rural females	34	50	2	4	<1	>.05	

Table 22c

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	17	65	1	3	<1	>.05	
Urban females	14	58	1	2	<1	>.05	
Rural males	35	49	0	7	3.14	.10-.05	
Rural females	35	49	1	5	<1	>.05	

Table 23c

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring European or African teacher advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Teacher		Afr. Teacher		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	14	57	4	11	<1	>.05	
Urban females	13	51	2	9	<1	>.05	
Rural males	31	48	4	8	<1	>.05	
Rural females	33	47	3	7	<1	>.05	

Table 24c

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	7	39	11	29	<1	>.05	
Urban females	10	37	5	23	<1	>.05	
Rural males	20	25	15	31	<1	>.05	
Rural females	23	38	13	16	<1	>.05	

Table 25c

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Ang. Design		Circ. Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	3	23	15	45	1.25	.30-.20	
Urban females	5	16	10	44	<1	>.05	
Rural males	8	21	27	35	<1	>.05	
Rural females	9	28	27	26	5.37	.05-.02	*

EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES (Non- and Primary-Educated) - Gramophone Series

Tables 21c - 25c show the number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Gramophone series.

Table 21c

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P.	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	16	66	2	2	<1	>.05	
Urban females	13	59	2	1	1.75	.20-.10	
Rural males	35	50	0	6	<1	>.05	
Rural females	34	50	2	4	<1	>.05	

Table 22c

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	17	65	1	3	<1	>.05	
Urban females	14	58	1	2	<1	>.05	
Rural males	35	49	0	7	3.14	.10-.05	
Rural females	35	49	1	5	<1	>.05	

Table 23c

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring European or African teacher advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Teacher		Afr. Teacher		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	14	57	4	11	<1	>.05	
Urban females	13	51	2	9	<1	>.05	
Rural males	31	48	4	8	<1	>.05	
Rural females	33	47	3	7	<1	>.05	

Table 24c

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	7	39	11	29	<1	>.05	
Urban females	10	37	5	23	<1	>.05	
Rural males	20	25	15	31	<1	>.05	
Rural females	23	38	13	16	<1	>.05	

Table 25c

Number of non- and primary-educated Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Ang. Design		Circ. Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.			
Urban males	3	23	15	45	1.25	.30-.20	
Urban females	5	16	10	44	<1	>.05	
Rural males	8	21	27	35	<1	>.05	
Rural females	9	28	27	26	5.37	.05-.02	*

EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES (Non- and Secondary-Educated) - Baby Food Series

Tables 26a - 30a show the number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Baby Food series.

Table 26a

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	5	7	9	7	<1	>.05	
Urban females	3	17	3	15	<1	>.05	
Rural males	39	17	5	5	<1	>.05	
Rural females	48	8	3	1	<1	>.05	

Table 27a

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	7	8	7	6	0	>.05	
Urban females	3	18	3	14	<1	>.05	
Rural males	35	14	9	8	1.19	.30-.20	
Rural females	42	4	9	5	4.20	.05-.02	*

Table 28a

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	9	4	5	10	2.29	.20-.10	
Urban females	3	14	3	18	<1	>.05	
Rural males	33	15	11	7	<1	>.05	
Rural females	37	5	14	4	2.01	.20-.10	

Table 29a

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	7	9	7	5	<1	>.05	
Urban females	4	20	2	12	<1	>.05	
Rural males	24	15	20	7	<1	>.05	
Rural females	27	5	24	4	<1	>.05	

Table 30a

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring light or dark abstract design advertisement of Bay Food series

Groups	Light Design		Dark Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	2	4	12	10	<1	>.05	
Urban females	1	12	5	20	<1	>.05	
Rural males	11	9	33	13	1.08	.30-.20	
Rural females	17	3	34	6	0	>.05	

EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES (Non- and Secondary-Educated) - Cigarette Series

Tables 26b - 30b show the number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Cigarette series.

Table 26b

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	22	22	1	3	<1	>.05	
Urban females	18	26	1	2	<1	>.05	
Rural males	37	11	4	0	<1	>.05	
Rural females	45	9	7	2	<1	>.05	

Table 27b

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	19	18	4	7	<1	>.05	
Urban females	15	24	4	4	<1	>.05	
Rural males	32	9	9	2	<1	>.05	
Rural females	39	7	13	4	<1	>.05	

Table 28b

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	19	19	4	6	<1	>.05	
Urban females	13	19	6	9	<1	>.05	
Rural males	26	8	15	3	<1	>.05	
Rural females	29	9	23	2	1.60	.30-.20	

Table 29b

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	13	14	10	11	<1	>.05	
Urban females	10	17	9	11	<1	>.05	
Rural males	15	7	26	4	1.60	.30-.20	
Rural females	19	6	33	5	<1	>.05	

Table 30b

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Ang. Design		Circ. Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	0	4	23	21	2.19	.20-.10	
Urban females	2	5	17	26	<1	>.05	
Rural males	29	7	2	4	<1	>.05	
Rural females	32	6	20	5	<1	>.05	

EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES (Non- and Secondary-Educated) - Gramophone Series

Tables 26c - 30c show the number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Gramophone series.

Table 26c

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	16	14	2	0	<1	>.05	
Urban females	13	22	2	3	<1	>.05	
Rural males	35	7	0	2	3.83	.10-.05	
Rural females	34	5	2	5	<1	>.05	

Table 27c

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	17	14	1	0	<1	>.05	
Urban females	14	22	1	3	<1	>.05	
Rural males	35	6	0	3	7.82	.01-.001	***
Rural females	35	7	1	3	4.27	.05-.02	*

Table 28c

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African teacher advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Teacher		Afr. Teacher		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	14	13	4	1	<1	>.05	
Urban females	13	19	2	6	<1	>.05	
Rural males	31	8	4	1	<1	>.05	
Rural females	33	7	3	3	1.61	.30-.20	

Table 29c

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	7	8	11	6	<1	>.05	
Urban females	10	15	5	10	<1	>.05	
Rural males	20	2	50	7	<1	>.05	
Rural females	23	4	13	6	<1	>.05	

Table 30c

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Ang. Design		Circ. Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	3	1	15	13	<1	>.05	
Urban females	5	8	10	17	<1	>.05	
Rural males	8	6	27	3	4.47	.05-.02	*
Rural females	9	10	27	0	15.19	>.001	***

EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES (Non- and Secondary-Educated) - Gramophone Series

Tables 26c - 30c show the number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Gramophone series.

Table 26c

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	16	14	2	0	<1	>.05	
Urban females	13	22	2	3	<1	>.05	
Rural males	35	7	0	2	3.83	.10-.05	
Rural females	34	5	2	5	<1	>.05	

Table 27c

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	17	14	1	0	<1	>.05	
Urban females	14	22	1	3	<1	>.05	
Rural males	35	6	0	3	7.82	.01-.001	***
Rural females	35	7	1	3	4.27	.05-.02	*

Table 28c

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African teacher advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Teacher		Afr. Teacher		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	14	13	4	1	<1	>.05	
Urban females	13	19	2	6	<1	>.05	
Rural males	31	8	4	1	<1	>.05	
Rural females	33	7	3	3	1.61	.30-.20	

Table 29c

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	7	8	11	6	<1	>.05	
Urban females	10	15	5	10	<1	>.05	
Rural males	20	2	50	7	<1	>.05	
Rural females	23	4	13	6	<1	>.05	

Table 30c

Number of non- and secondary-educated Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Ang. Design		Circ. Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Non-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	3	1	15	13	<1	>.05	
Urban females	5	8	10	17	<1	>.05	
Rural males	8	6	27	3	4.47	.05-.02	*
Rural females	9	10	27	0	15.19	>.001	***

EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES (Primary- and Secondary-Educated) - Baby Food Series

Tables 31a - 35a show the number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Baby Food series.

Table 31a

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	24	7	48	7	<1	>.05	
Urban females	30	17	32	15	<1	>.05	
Rural males	30	17	4	5	<1	>.05	
Rural females	27	8	13	1	1.29	0.30-.20	

Table 32a

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	43	8	29	6	<1	>.05	
Urban females	38	18	24	14	<1	>.05	
Rural males	25	14	9	8	<1	>.05	
Rural females	21	4	19	5	<1	>.05	

Table 33a

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	48	4	24	10	5.61	0.02-.01	**
Urban females	42	14	20	18	4.09	0.05-.02	*
Rural males	25	15	9	7	<1	>.05	
Rural females	19	5	21	4	<1	>.05	

Table 34a

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	45	9	27	5	<1	>.05	
Urban females	36	20	26	12	<1	>.05	
Rural males	20	15	14	7	<1	>.05	
Rural females	26	5	14	4	<1	>.05	

Table 35a

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring light or dark abstract advertisement of Baby Food series

Groups	Light Design		Dark Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	21	4	51	10	<1	>.05	
Urban females	24	12	38	20	<1	>.05	
Rural males	10	9	24	13	<1	>.05	
Rural females	16	3	24	6	<1	>.05	

EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES (Primary- and Secondary-Educated) - Cigarette Series

Tables 31b - 35b show the number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Cigarette series.

Table 31b

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	45	22	7	3	<1	>.05	
Urban females	44	26	9	2	<1	>.05	
Rural males	42	11	6	0	<1	>.05	
Rural females	36	9	1	2	1.32	0.30-.20	

Table 32b

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	45	18	7	7	1.52	.30-.20	
Urban females	44	24	9	4	<1	>.05	
Rural males	35	9	13	2	<1	>.05	
Rural females	32	7	5	4	4.10	>.05	

Table 33b

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African doctor advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Eur. Doctor		Afr. Doctor		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	41	19	11	6	<1	>.05	
Urban females	42	19	11	9	<1	>.05	
Rural males	33	8	15	3	<1	>.05	
Rural females	27	9	10	2	<1	>.05	

Table 34b

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	26	14	26	11	<1	>.05	
Urban females	32	17	21	11	<1	>.05	
Rural males	26	7	22	4	<1	>.05	
Rural females	21	6	16	5	<1	>.05	

Table 35b

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Cigarette series

Groups	Ang. Design		Circ. Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	10	4	42	21	<1	>.05	
Urban females	9	5	44	26	<1	>.05	
Rural males	19	7	29	4	1.34	.30-.20	
Rural females	25	6	12	5	<1	>.05	

EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES (Primary- and Secondary-Educated) - Gramophone Series

Tables 31c - 35c show the number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring the "European" or "African" advertisements of the Gramophone series.

Table 31c

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African baby advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Baby		Afr. Baby		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	66	14	2	0	<1	>.05	
Urban females	59	22	1	3	2.23	.20-.10	
Rural males	50	7	6	2	<1	>.05	
Rural females	50	5	4	5	9.38	.01-.001	***

Table 32c

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African family advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Family		Afr. Family		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	65	14	3	0	<1	>.05	
Urban females	58	22	2	3	1.08	.30-.20	
Rural males	49	6	7	3	<1	>.05	
Rural females	49	7	5	3	<1	>.05	

Table 33c

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring European or African teacher advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Eur. Teacher		Afr. Teacher		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	57	13	11	1	<1	>.05	
Urban females	51	19	9	6	<1	>.05	
Rural males	48	8	8	1	<1	>.05	
Rural females	47	7	7	3	<1	>.05	

Table 34c

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring urban or rural scene advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Urban Scene		Rural Scene		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	39	8	29	6	<1	>.05	
Urban females	37	15	23	10	<1	>.05	
Rural males	25	2	31	7	<1	>.05	
Rural females	38	4	16	6	2.23	.20-.10	

Table 35c

Number of primary- and secondary-educated Africans preferring angular or circular design advertisement of Gramophone series

Groups	Ang. Design		Circ. Design		X ²	P	Sig.
	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.	Prim.-Ed.	Sec.-Ed.			
Urban males	23	1	45	13	2.80	.10-.05	
Urban females	16	8	44	17	<1	>.05	
Rural males	21	6	35	3	1.64	.20-.10	
Rural females	28	10	26	0	6.23	.02-.01	**

A P P E N D I X 3

Figures showing distribution of European-African advertisement
preferences

Baby Food series	Figs 1a - 5a
Cigarette series	Figs 1b - 5b
Gramophone series	Figs 1c - 5c

I N D E X

Baby advertisements of Baby Food series
Baby advertisements of Cigarette series
Baby advertisements of Gramophone series

Family advertisements of Baby Food series
Family advertisements of Cigarette series
Family advertisements of Gramophone series

Doctor advertisements of Baby Food series
Doctor advertisements of Cigarette series
Teacher advertisements of Gramophone series

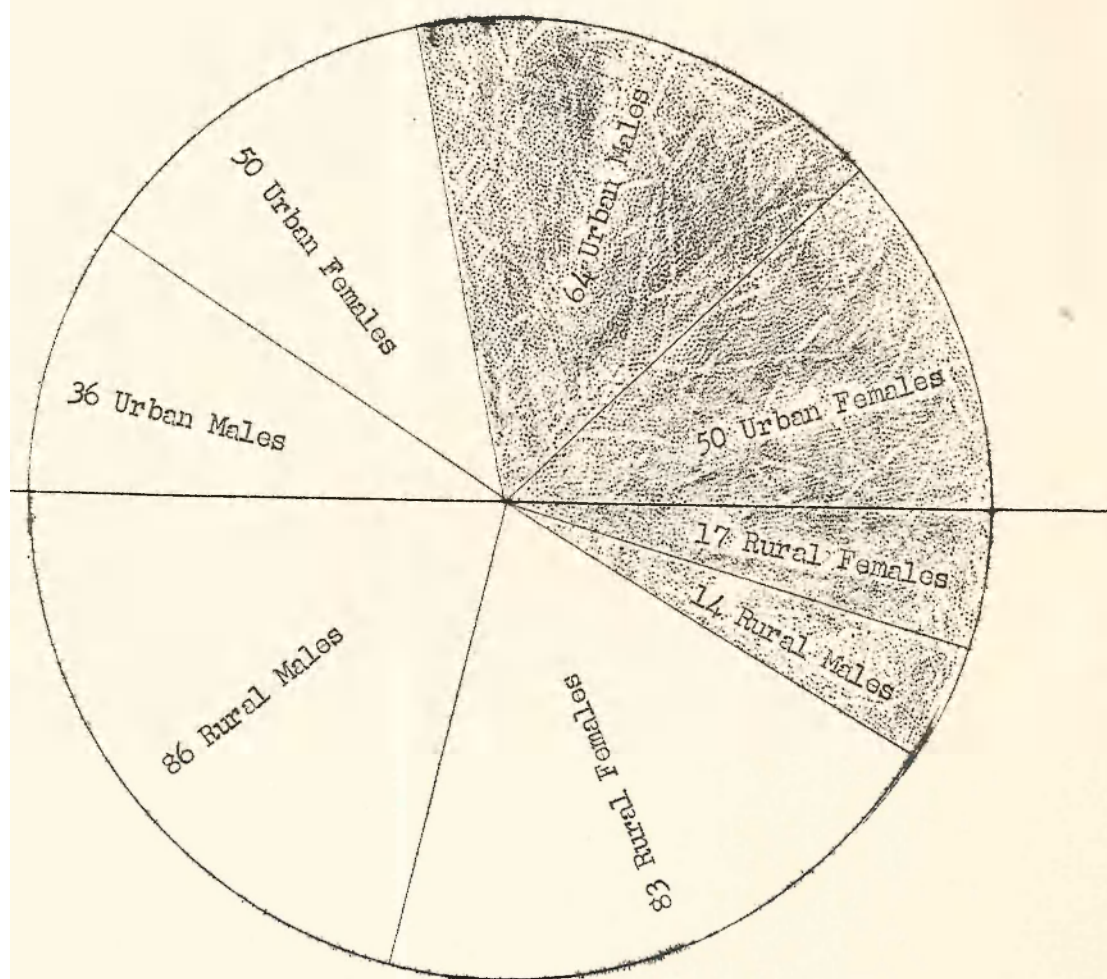
Scenery advertisements of Baby Food series
Scenery advertisements of Cigarette series
Scenery advertisements of Gramophone series

Design advertisements of Baby Food series
Design advertisements of Cigarette series
Design advertisements of Gramophone series

Fig. 1a

Number of Africans preferring European or African
baby advertisement of Baby Food series

Urban Groups



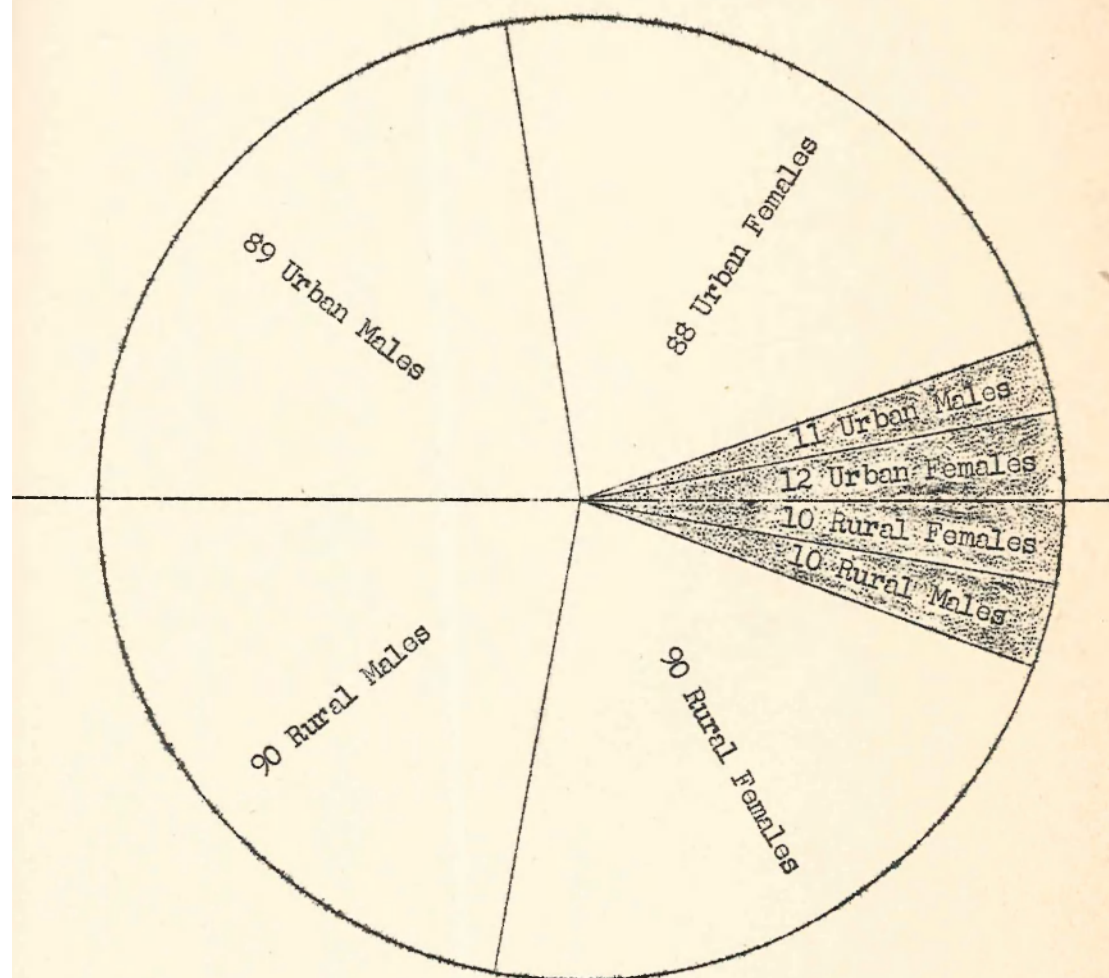
Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for European baby advertisement
Shaded - Preference for African baby advertisement

Fig. 1b

Number of Africans preferring European or African
taty advertisement of Cigarette series

Urban Groups



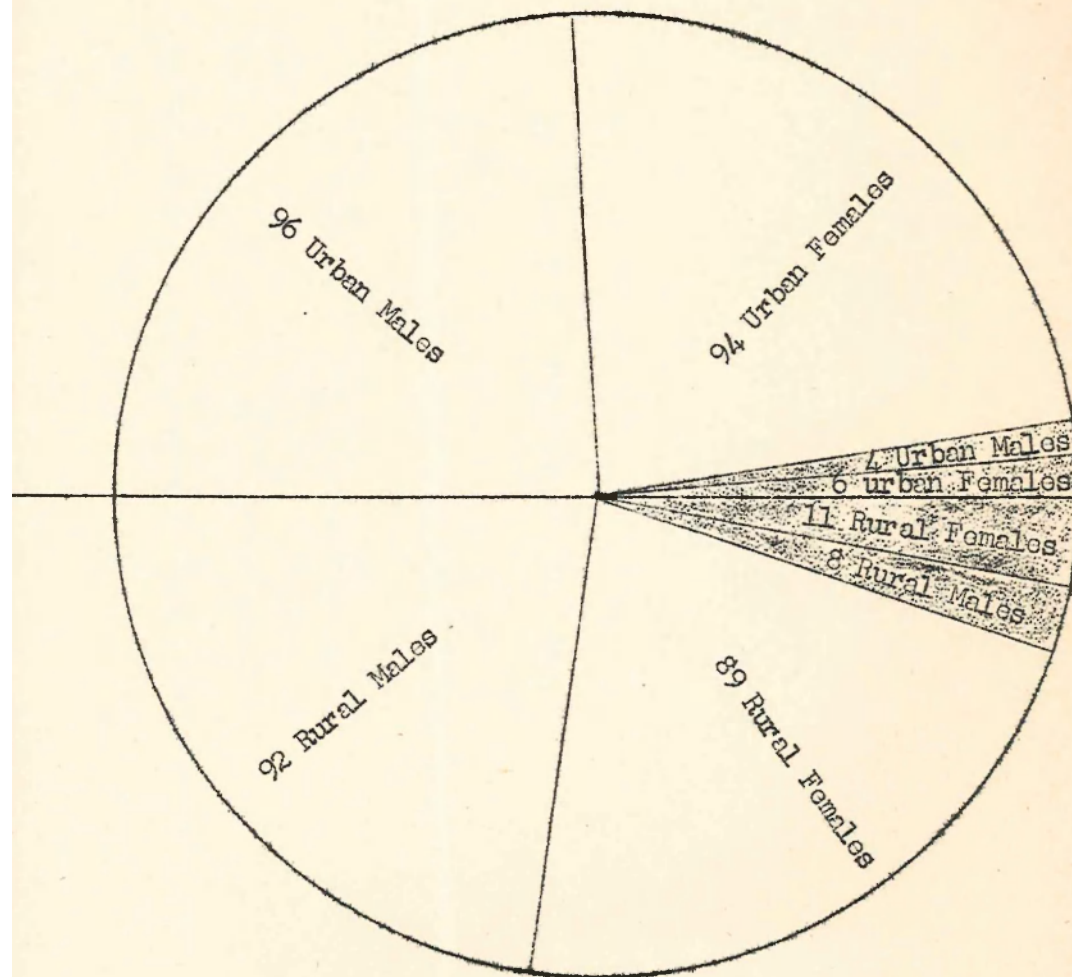
Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for European taty advertisement
Shaded - Preference for African taty advertisement

Fig. 1c

Number of Africans preferring European or African
baby advertisement of Gramophone series

Urban Groups



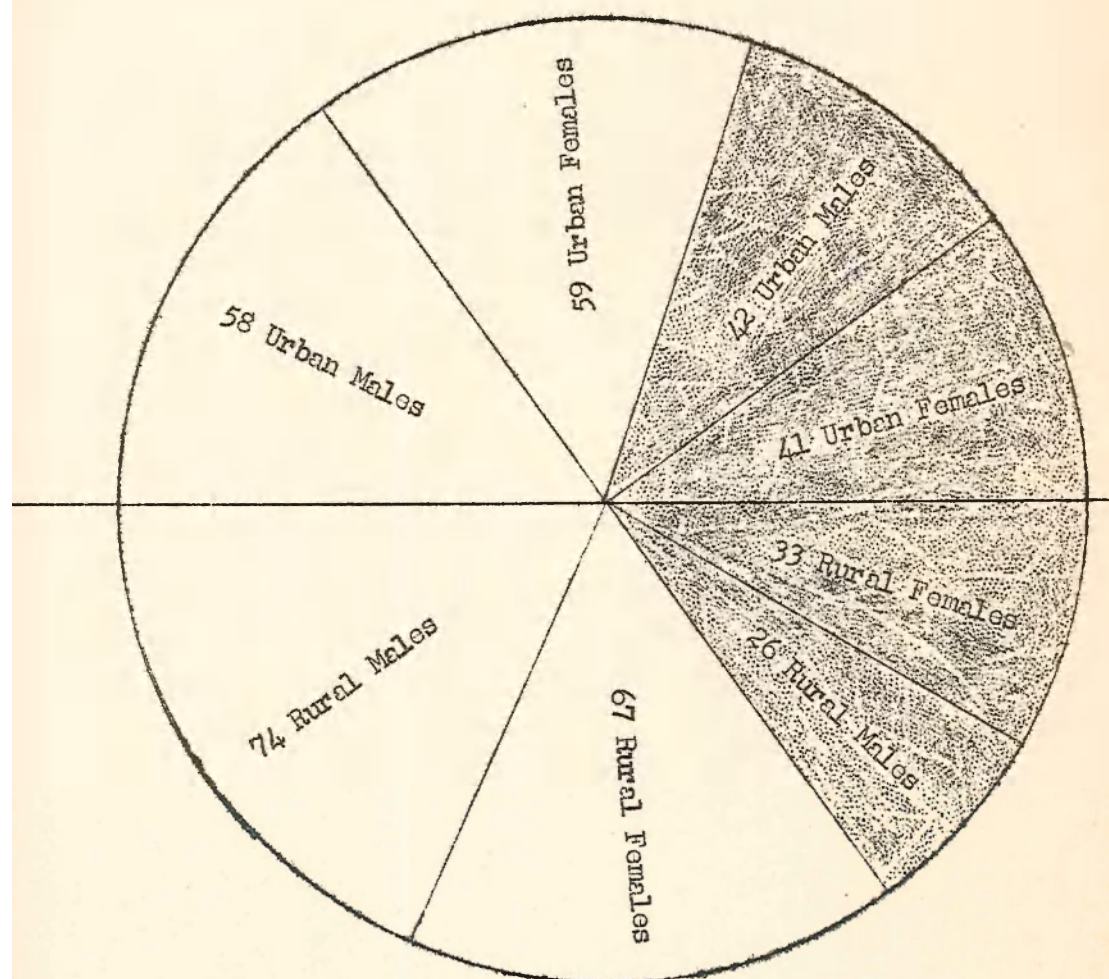
Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for European baby advertisement
Shaded - Preference for African baby advertisement

Fig. 2a

Number of Africans preferring European or African
family advertisement of Baby Food series

Urban Groups



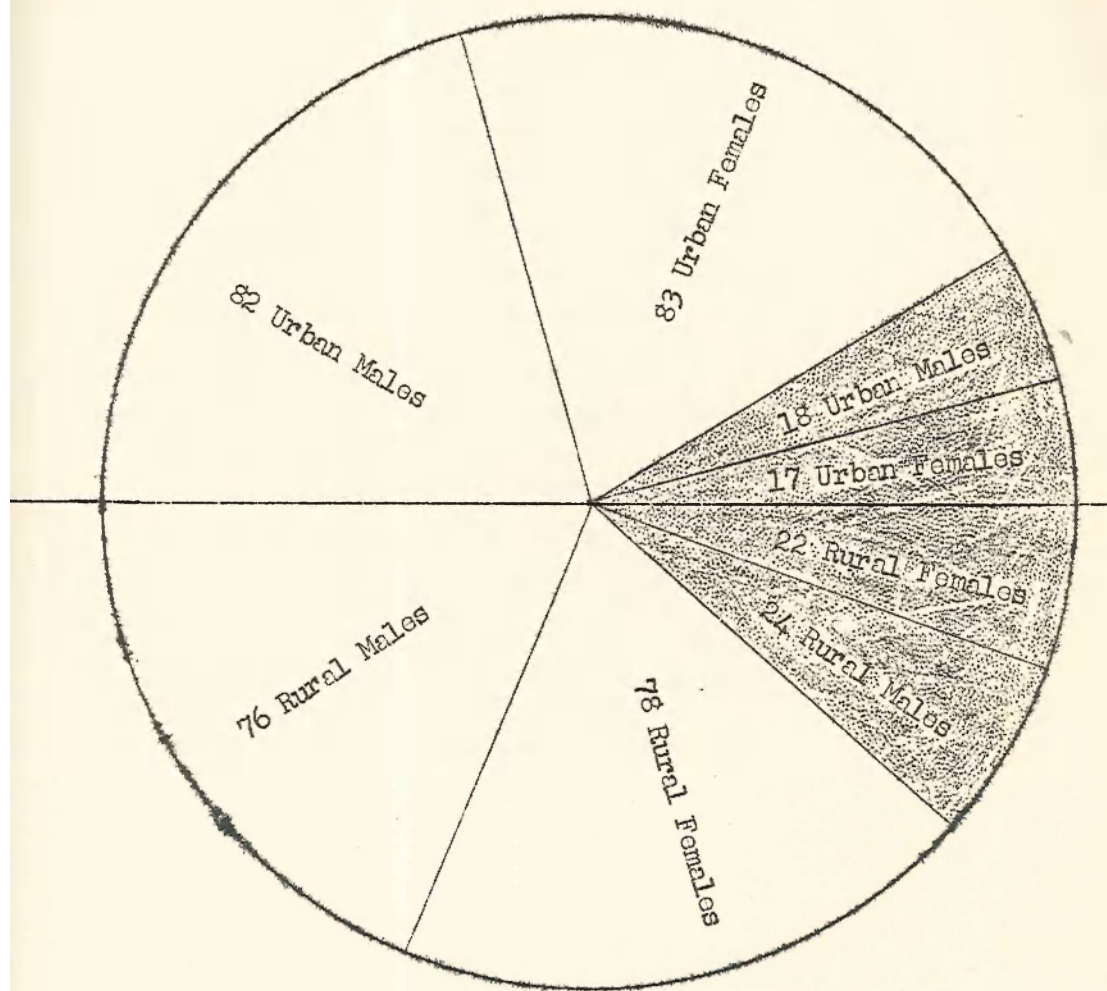
Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for European family advertisement
Shaded - Preference for African family advertisement

Fig. 2b

Number of Africans preferring European or African
family advertisement of cigarette series

Urban Groups



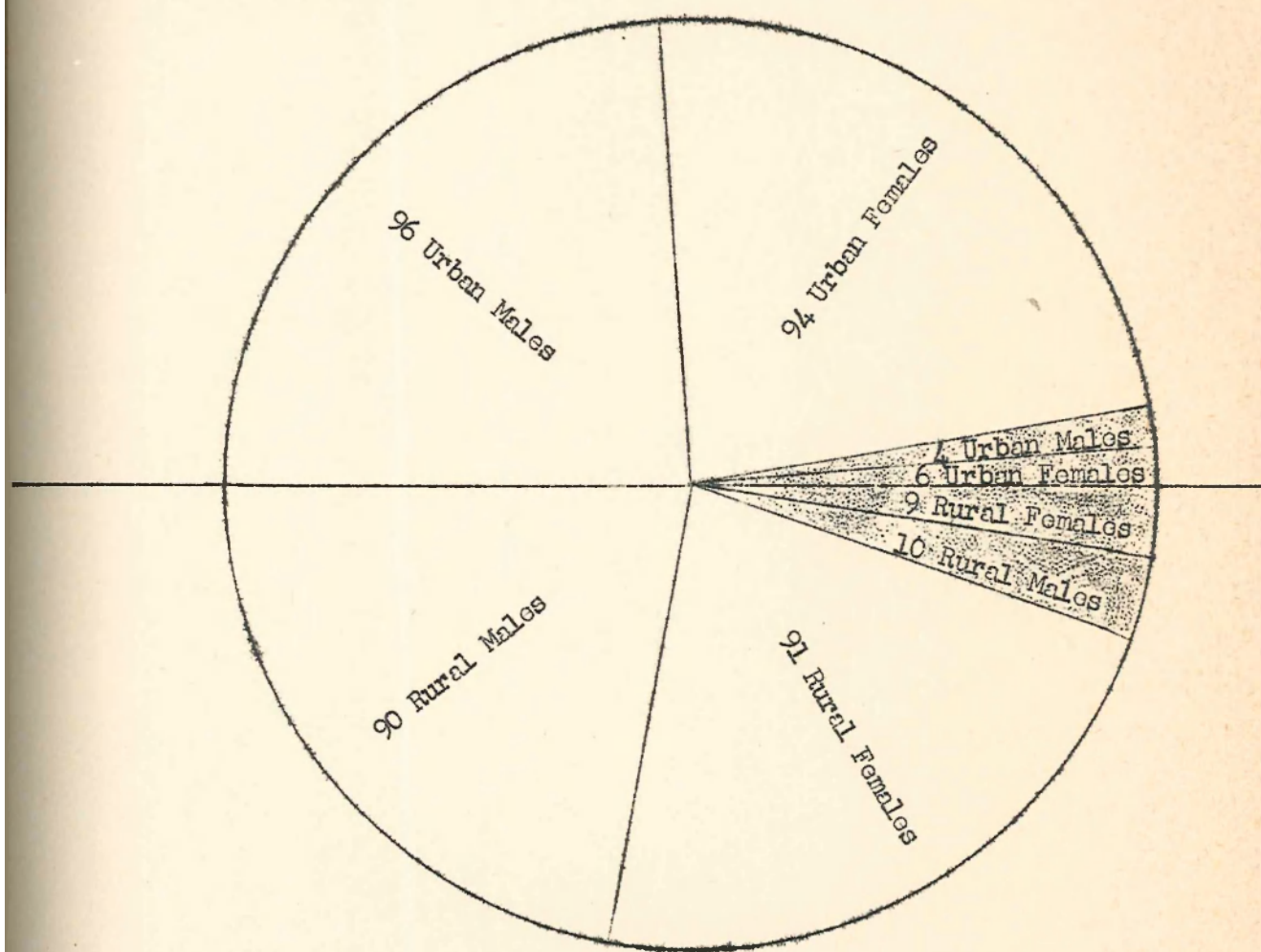
Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for European family advertisement
Shaded - Preference for African family advertisement

Fig. 2c

Number of Africans preferring European or African
family advertisement of Gramophone series

Urban Groups



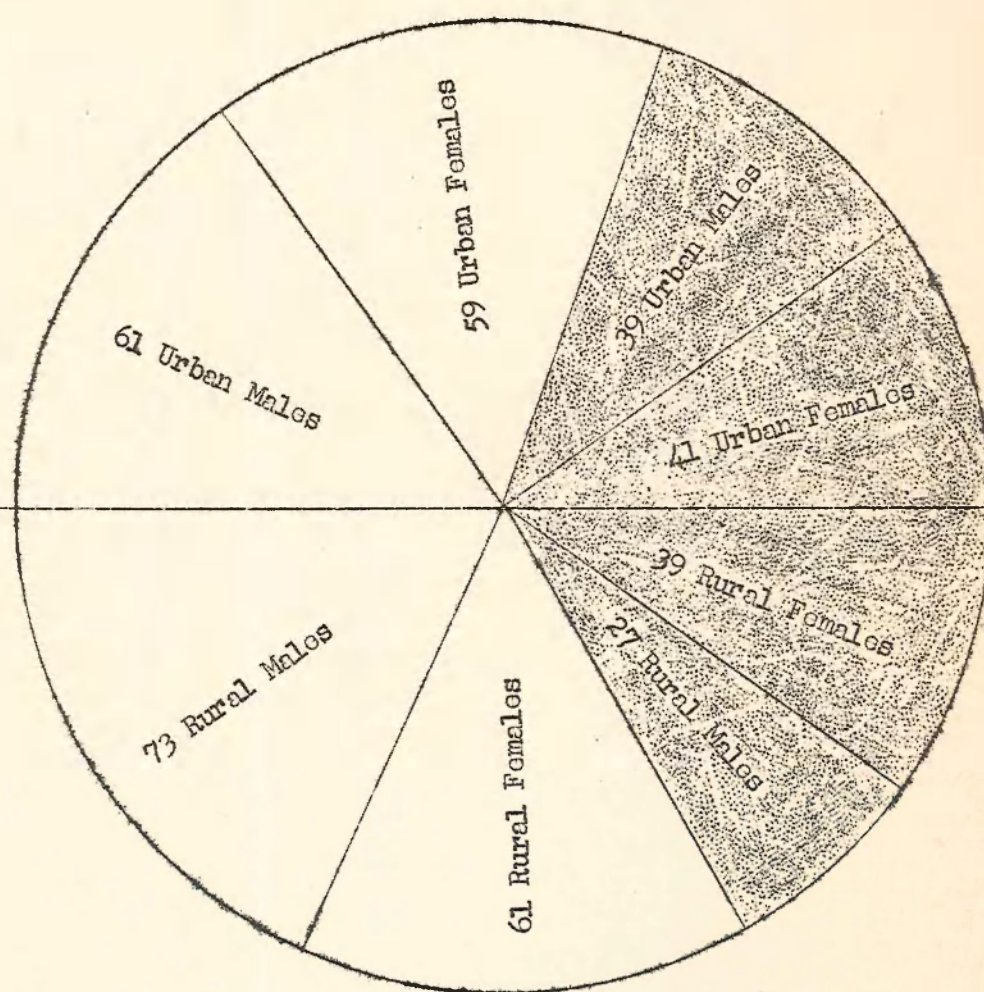
Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for European family advertisement
Shaded - Preference for African family advertisement

Fig. 3a

Number of Africans preferring European or African
doctor advertisement of Baby Food series

Urban Groups



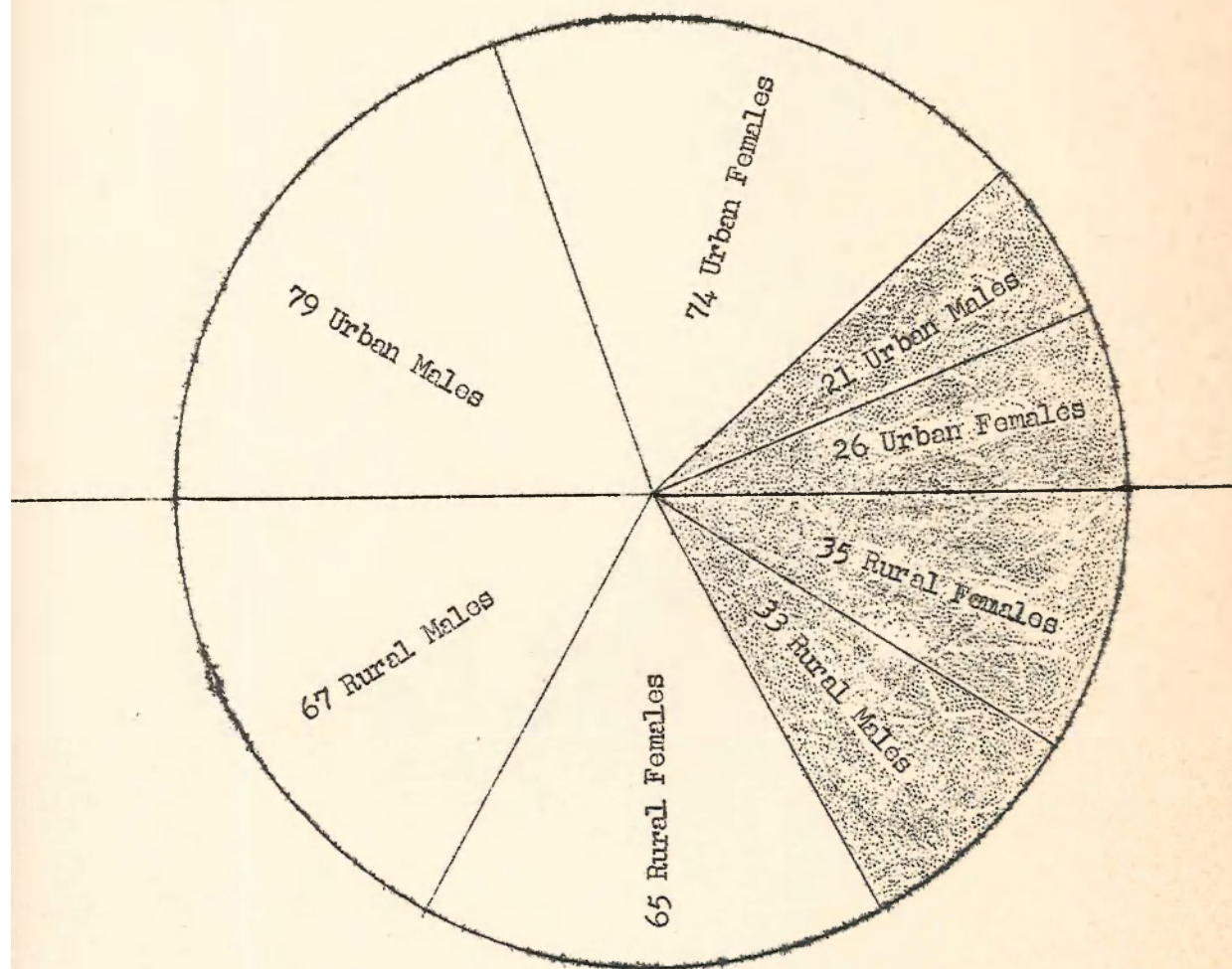
Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for European doctor advertisement
Shaded - Preference for African doctor advertisement

Fig. 3b

Number of Africans preferring European or African
doctor advertisement of Cigarette series

Urban Groups



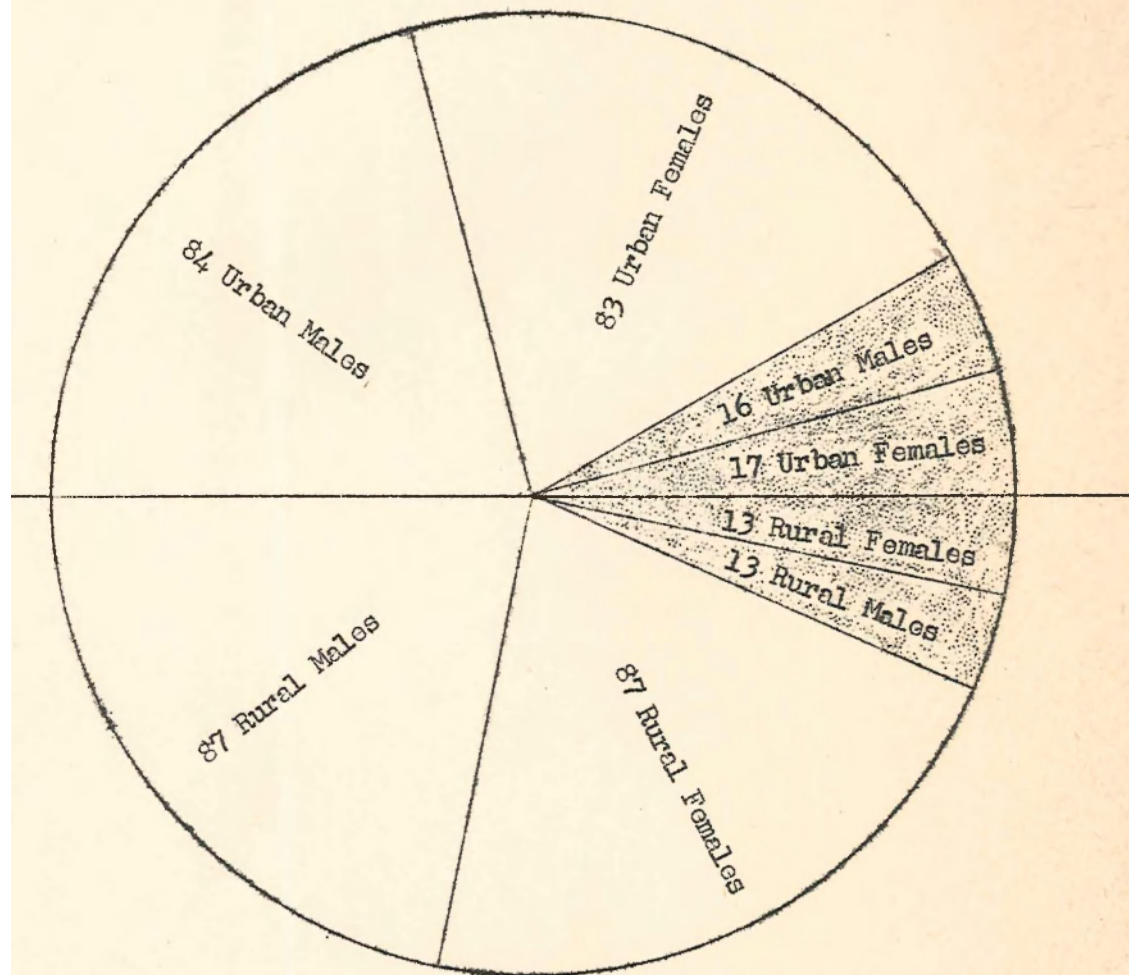
Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for European doctor advertisement
Shaded - Preference for African doctor advertisement

Fig. 3c

Number of Africans preferring European or African
teacher advertisement of Gramophone series

Urban Groups



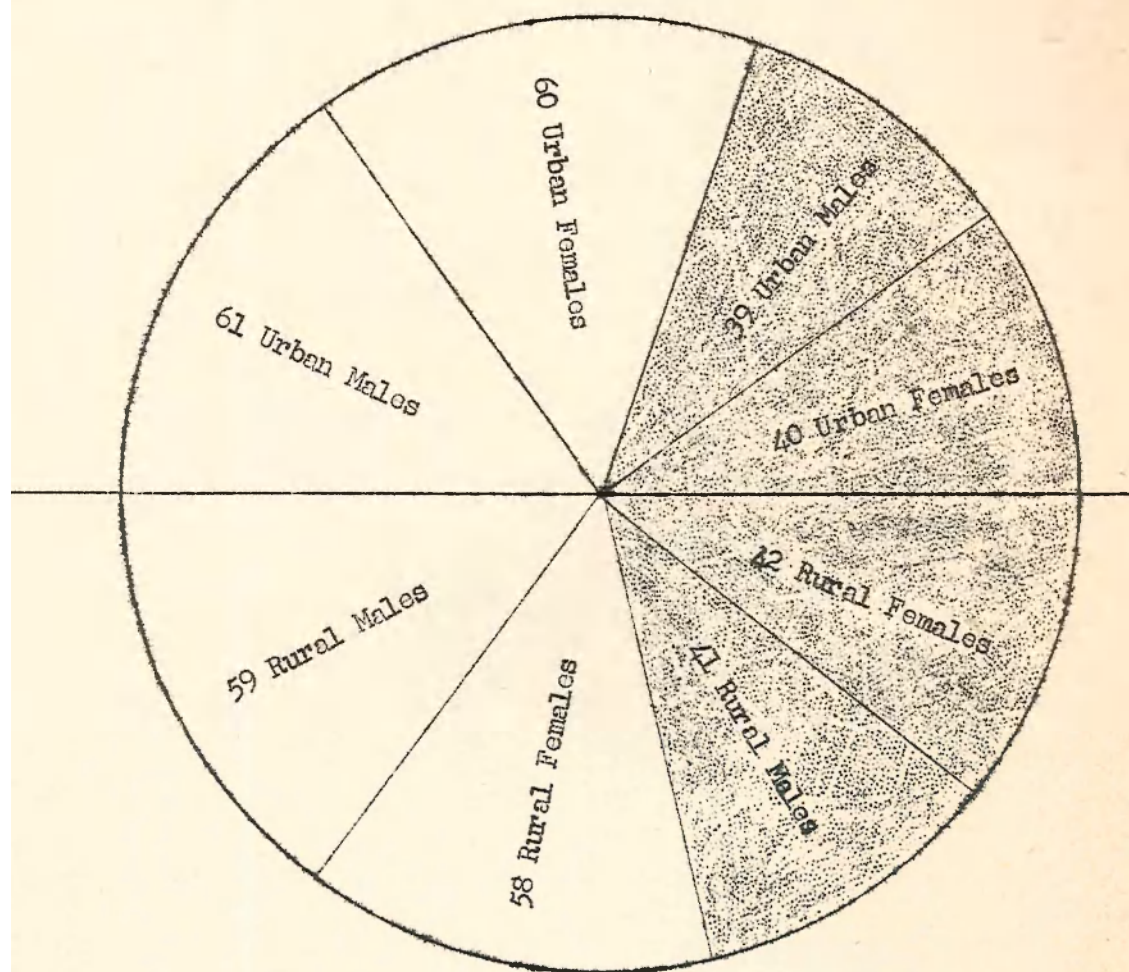
Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for European teacher advertisement
Shaded - Preference for African teacher advertisement

Fig. 4a

Number of Africans preferring urban or rural scene
advertisement of Baby Food series

Urban Groups



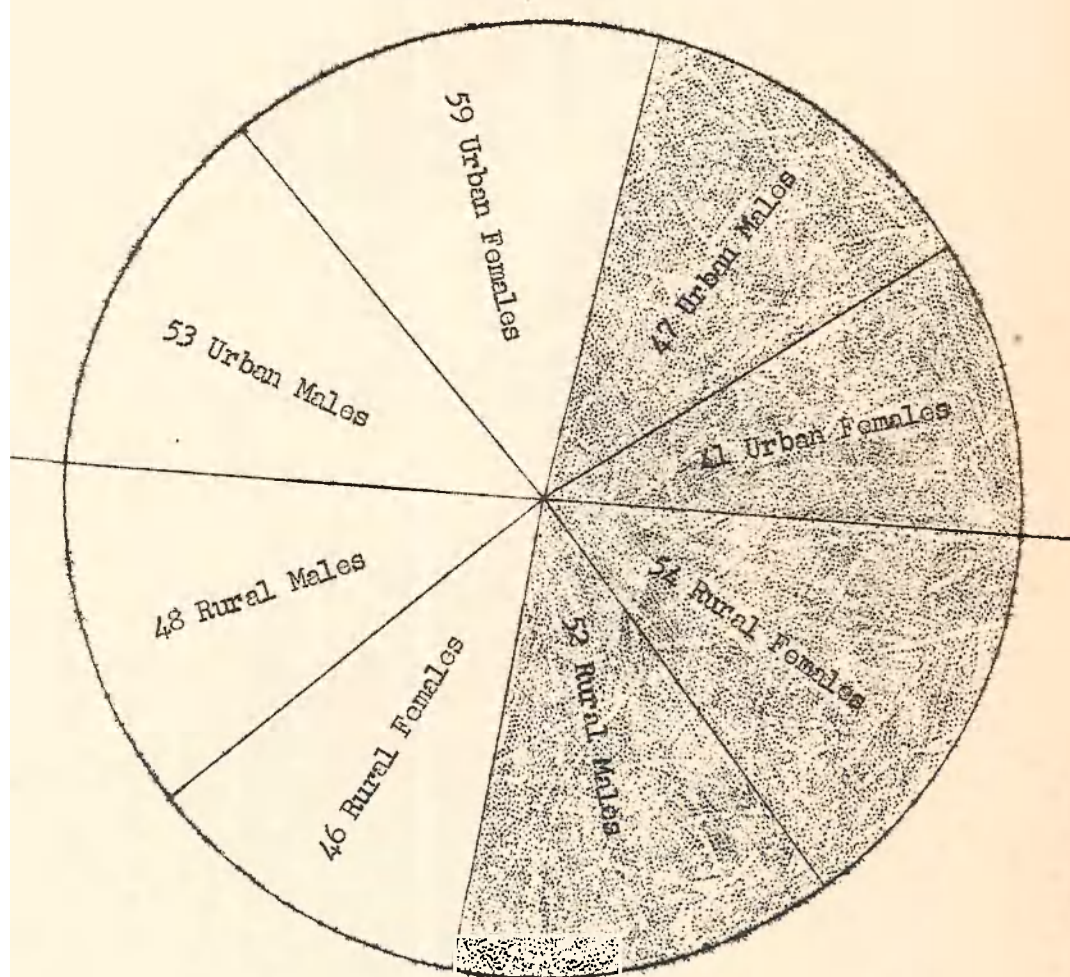
Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for urban scene advertisement
Shaded - Preference for rural scene advertisement

Fig. 4b

Number of Africans preferring urban or rural scene
advertisement of Cigarette series

Urban Groups



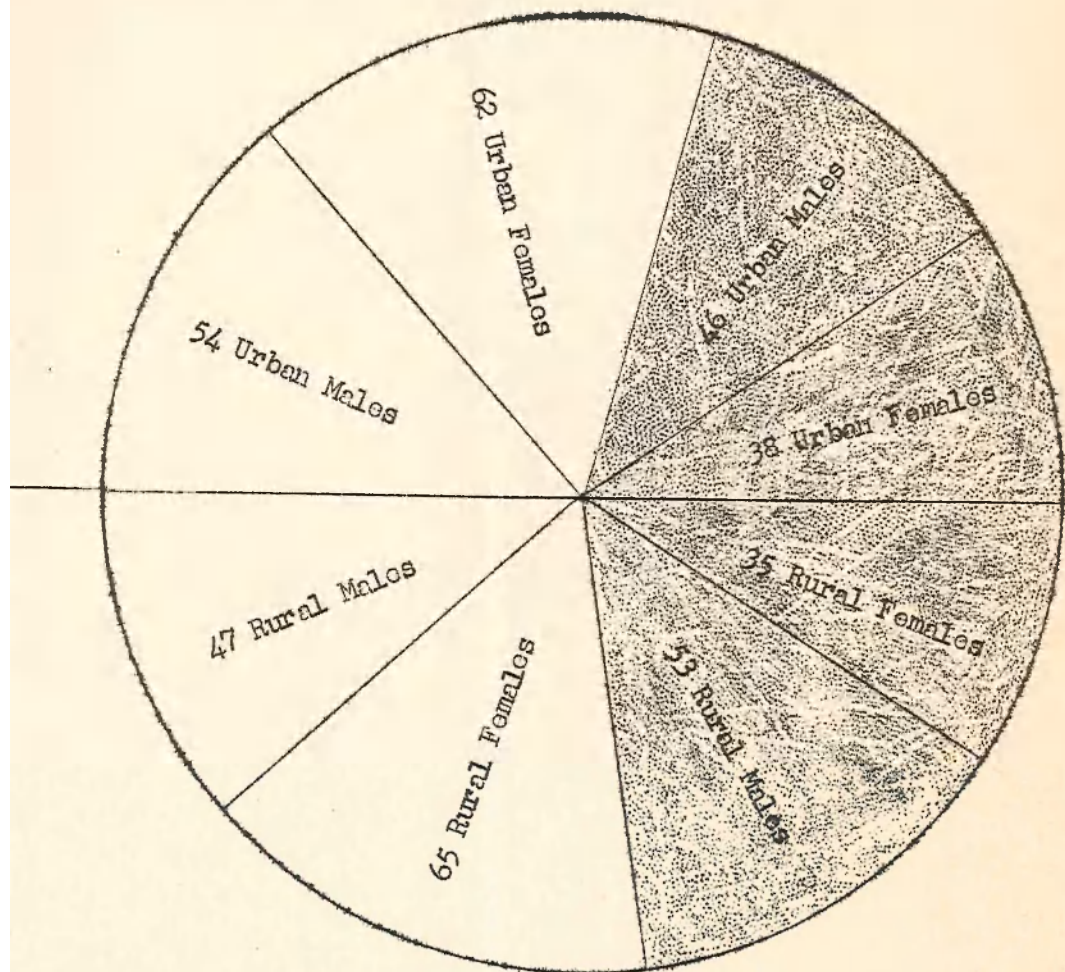
Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for urban scene advertisement
Shaded - Preference for rural scene advertisement

Fig. 4c

Number of Africans preferring urban or rural scene
advertisement of Gramophone series

Urban Groups



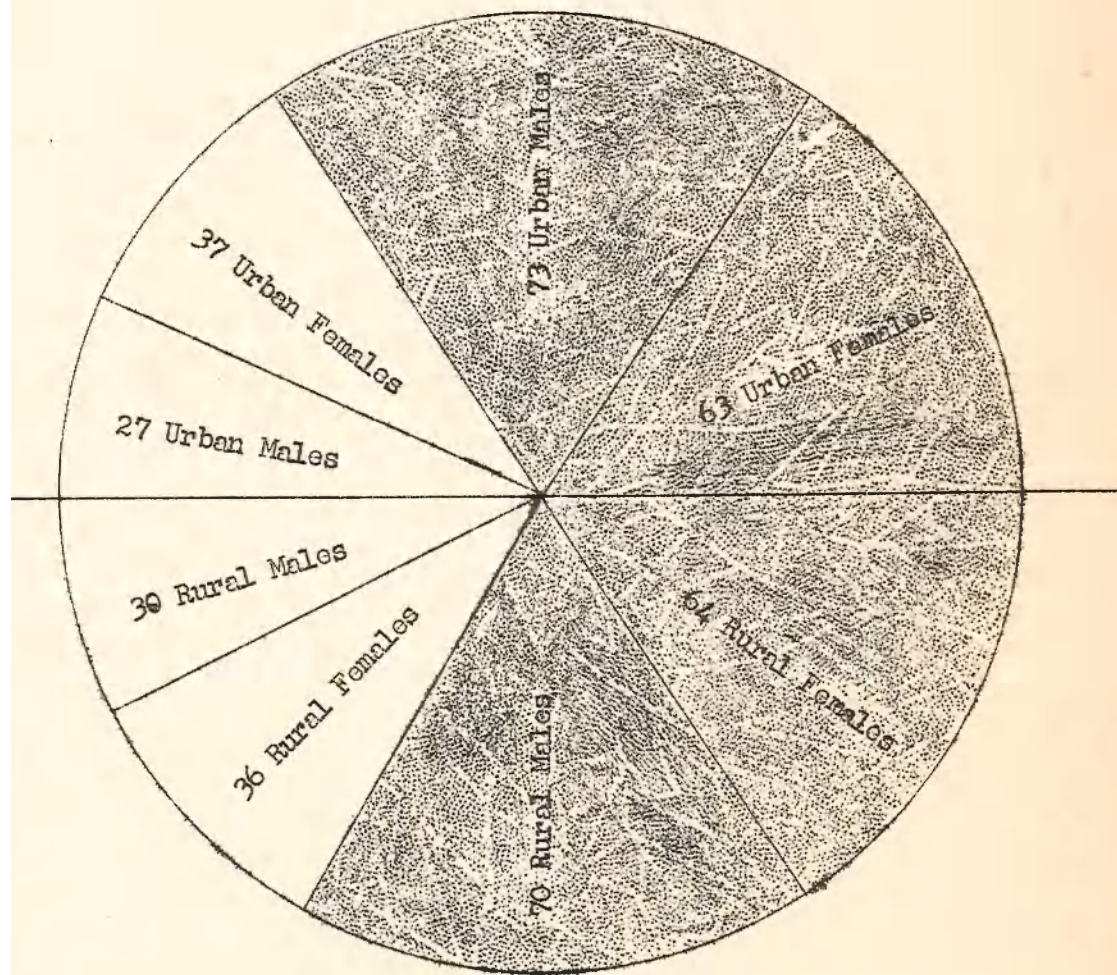
Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for urban scene advertisement
Shaded - Preference for rural scene advertisement

Fig. 5a

Number of Africans preferring light or dark abstract
design advertisement of Baby Food series

Urban Groups



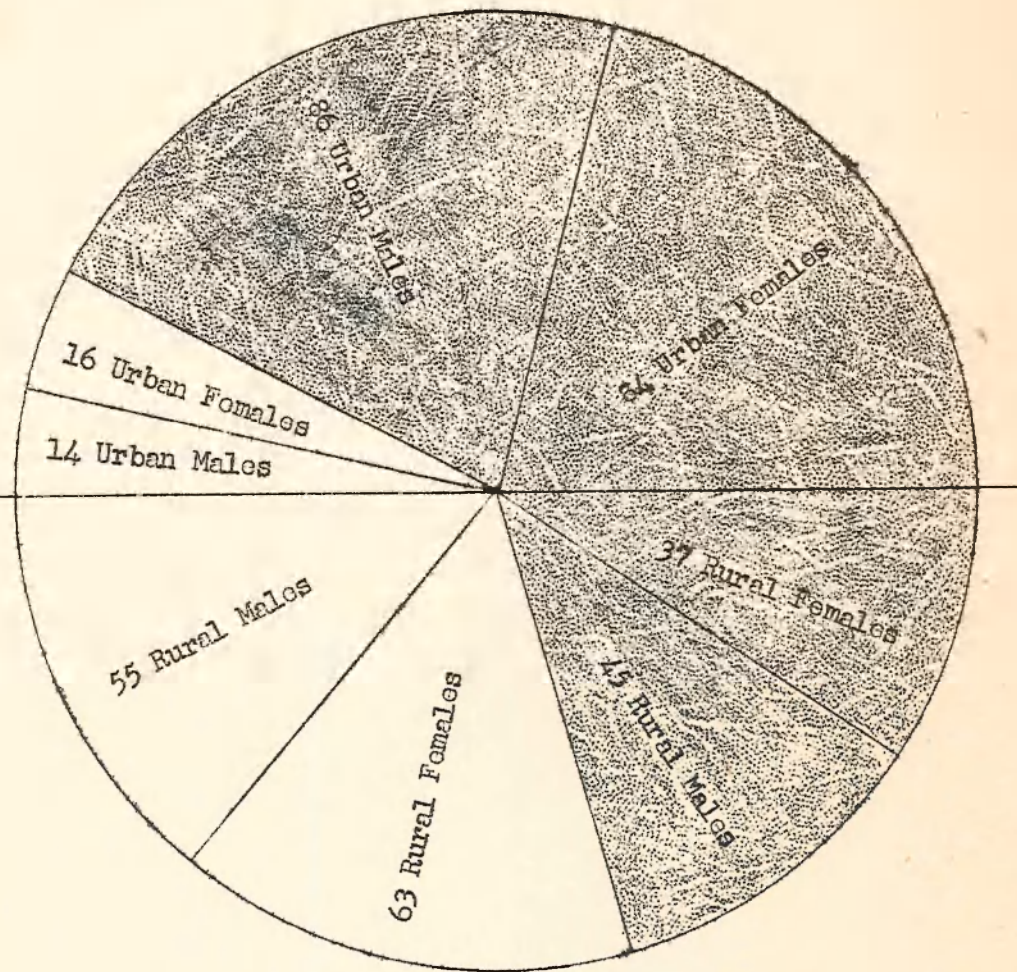
Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for light abstract design advertisement
Shaded - Preference for dark abstract design advertisement

Fig. 5b

Number of Africans preferring angular or circular
design advertisement of Cigarette series

Urban Groups



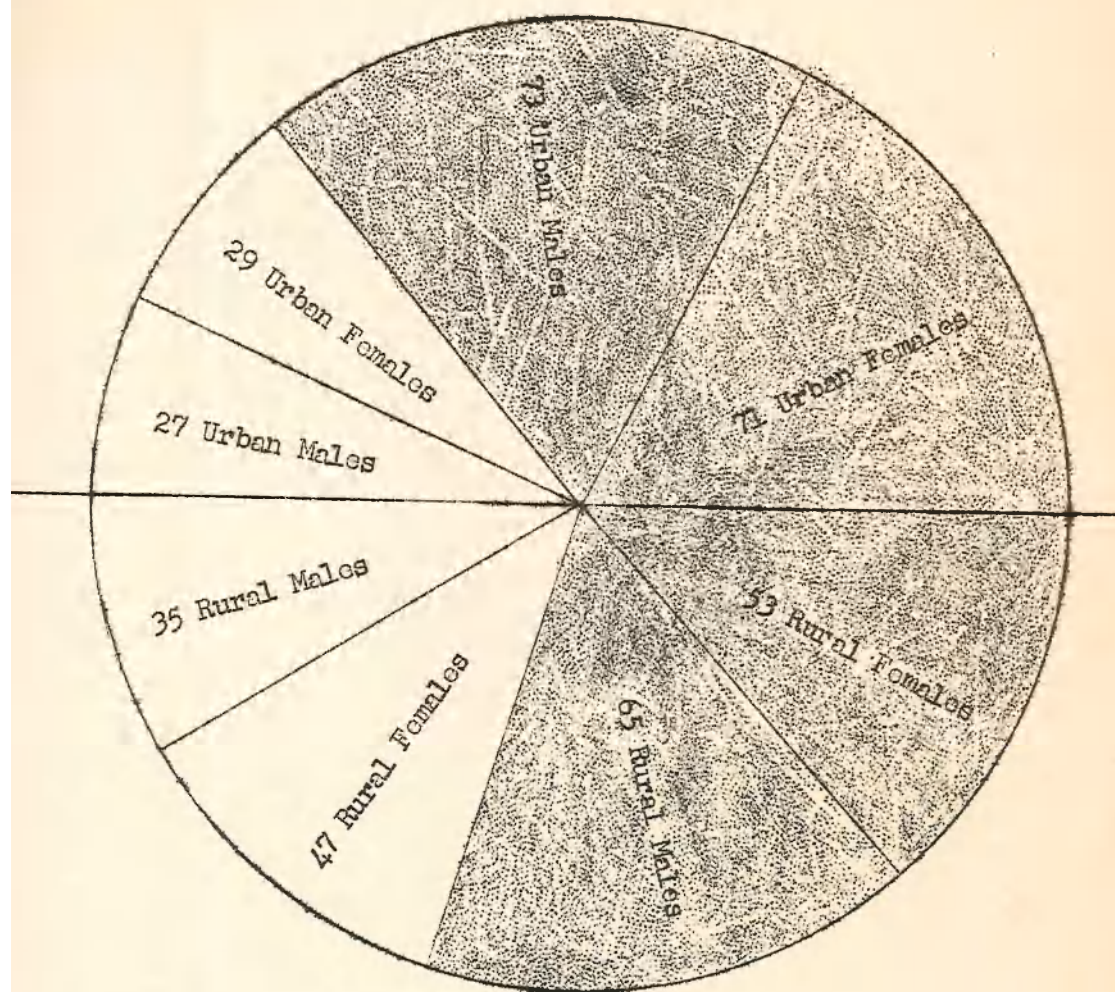
Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for angular design advertisement
Shaded - Preference for circular design advertisement

Fig. 5c

Number of Africans preferring angular or circular
design advertisement of Gramophone series

Urban Groups



Rural Groups

Unshaded - Preference for angular design advertisement
Shaded - Preference for circular design advertisement

This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons
Attribution – NonCommercial - NoDerivs 3.0 Licence.

To view a copy of the licence please see:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>